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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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**Krasnoyarsk Kray First Secretary on
Socioeconomic Problems**
18000971 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with O. Shenin, by L. Batynskaya: "Time For Choice: O. Shenin, First Secretary of the Party's Krasnoyarsk Kraykom Discusses the New Approaches in Resolving the Kray's Socioeconomic Problems"]

[Text] *For a long time he will have close at hand—as a desk reference—the stenographic records of the pre-election meetings. There were 27 official ones alone. And there were just as many conversations (both thorough and on-the-run) on city and village streets, at enterprises and on animal-husbandry farms, in schools and stores, recorded by brief entries in a notebook. It is impossible to count how many questions he was asked. Today it seems to him that meetings with the voters—that two-sided dialogue—have been compressed into a tight clump of emotions, thoughts, and problems.*

His notebook contains the name of a settlement, and his memory contains the awkward feeling that he experienced when he dropped by at the settlement hospital. He could not believe his eyes: the patients were wearing their overcoats in bed. The cold, the dim light from the bulbs. And this was perhaps a hundred meters from the largest hydroelectric plant in the world! His notebook records seven rayons that are scattered over the taiga, including the city of Kansk, with a population of 150,000 persons. That is the territory of the district where Oleg Semonovich Shenin, First Secretary of the party's Krasnoyarsk Kraykom, has been elected USSR people's deputy. The most remote areas...

[L. Batynskaya] Oleg Semenovitch, first of all, we all—both myself personally, and the journalists from IZVESTIYA, which I am representing in this conversation that I am having with you—would like to congratulate you on your election as USSR people's deputy.

[O. Shenin] Thank you, Lyudmila Ivanovna. I also would like to congratulate your colleagues on their high title. So far as I know, five USSR people's deputies are currently working at IZVESTIYA. This is a fact that is remarkable for our time.

[L. Batynskaya] Your kind words indicate that we will have a very frank conversation. Oleg Semenovitch, I know that at the pre-election meetings you received memoranda, the authors of which asked you directly whether the kray center or, say, Norilsk on the other side of the Arctic Circle, would have named Shenin as a candidate for deputy. I am mentioning this because, although the election is behind us, the choice of people is with us and in us. And it requires its interpretation.

[O. Shenin] I assumed that there would be such questions. When I was nominated as a candidate for deputy (incidentally, in many places in the kray), I kept thinking

about whether I should give the preference to the industrial center or to the remote rural areas... Of course, it was simpler for me to run in such a large city as Achinsk. After all, I had been working as a chief of a construction administration, and later on as the manager of the Achinskalyuminstroy Trust. I was the first secretary of a party gorkom... I am well-known in another major city—Abakan, and in general in Khakasia, where I headed a party obkom. That autonomous oblast is very dear and very memorable to me... But I did not know in detail the eastern parts of the kray, the most remote areas. Although... Certainly we know the poverty conditions in which our Siberian remote areas, the remote areas of RSFSR, live. I myself was born there. There are no palaces or asphalt roads there. The most elementary things are nonexistent—bakeries, bath houses, club houses. Hospitals exist only in name... In a word, it was the remote areas—and not their past, but their future—that determined the choice.

For me this was not some kind of non-risk version, as might appear at first glance. It was not for years—but for decades!—that the remote rural areas had been fed nothing but promises. And, as everyone knows, words won't fill your stomach. If there are no concrete deeds, the words are devalued. And so I thought about what I would tell the people and how they would answer me, and whether they would believe the genuineness of my intentions... And also, in general, about how they would greet me, if many of them were seeing me for the first time... I hope that you can understand my feelings.

[L. Batynskaya] I know that three candidates were discussed at the district meeting...

[O. Shenin] Yes, there were three of us. And the fact that my two strong rivals—people who are respected in their collectives and who have a serious campaign program and a state position—gathered a smaller number of votes is something that I am inclined to explain by no way in terms of personal popularity. Both at the district meeting and in the election, the people put their trust—in advance!—in the first secretary of the party's kraykom, who has a larger number of opportunities for resolving the vitally important problems. People are tired of poor organization.

[L. Batynskaya] You were chosen, but did you make your own choice?

[O. Shenin] The times are such that we are all faced with a choice. The new way of economic and social thinking. New forms of ideological work. The new interpretation of democratization and glasnost. More and more new things... But the problems are still the old ones, the ones that have been piling up for decades. They have become overgrown with words, like a snowbank. But there is an alternative choice: either keep in step with the times and change over from words to deeds, or remain hopelessly behind... People asked me difficult questions—questions about problems in everyday life, problems of poor social

organization, empty store shelves, the poor organization of labor, bureaucratism... And I did not have any pat answers to all these questions. I tried to carry out an honest discussion...

[L. Batynskaya] You received 88.4 percent of the votes. Putting it in direct terms, can this live figure be understood as mutual confidence?

[O. Shenin] I think so. I repeat that we spoke only the truth to one another. For example, I said that I could not give any unfounded promises: that we could feed, clothe, and provide shoes for everyone instantaneously. Or raise everyone's wages. It is necessary to be a realist—it is impossible to correct a situation in a single sweep, although that situation was interpreted long ago. What had the kray lacked in previous years, people asked me. It seems to me that it lacked a reasonable balancing in the choice of priorities. And that is why there are paradoxes. We cut down almost 20 million cubic meters of timber each year, but we import cut boards from the Central Caucasus. Watermelons, tomatoes, and apples grow in the Minusinsk basin, but a can of mixed fruit is a scarce item. There is plenty of energy, but the situation has got to the point where Siberians ask the General Secretary to get them felt boots and fur-lined jackets... Let's try to find the roots of these paradoxes together, I told the voters.

The previously accepted first and second 10-year programs for developing the kray's productive forces were intended to achieve broad integration. But what happened? While building up the potential of heavy industry and pumping out raw materials, the departments made practically no attempt to achieve integration. Here is an eloquent example of this. One of hundreds. For the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex, I know, various doctoral dissertations were defended in the departments, whereas the assignments for the construction base were not approved until almost eight years after the first peg was driven in...

[L. Batynskaya] And during all these years the tremendous construction project has literally been suffocating without structural elements and building materials. We are all perfectly aware of what this one-sided approach led to. Thousands of psychologically crippled fates of young volunteers—without housing, without work, without money, and correspondingly, only appeals from the well-fed—where are they now? In what and in whom can they believe? Forgive me for speaking somewhat emotionally. But all this is happening before our eyes...

[O. Shenin] Of course, thinking about this is difficult. But one must not fail to think about it! With respect to fixed assets, our kray is the second in RSFSR. But we are in the forty-sixth place with regard to the providing of housing to the population, and the forty-eighth place with regard to the activation of children's preschool institutions. We are in thirtieth place with regard to the number of hospitals...

[L. Batynskaya] Incidentally, people no longer speak glowingly about the healthy conditions in Siberia. In Krasnoyarsk's Sovetskiy Rayon alone, the fluorine concentrations exceed the admissible ones by a factor of 6, and the benzpyrene concentrations, by a factor of 48. There has been a doubling or tripling in the number of cases of toxicosis, and of premature births in women living close to the aluminum plant.

[O. Shenin] Yes, all these are paradoxes of our industrial development. But today we no longer have any time, as the expression goes, to simply bemoan the "old wounds." Although one's heart aches. It still aches terribly! We need absolutely basic decisions. I am perfectly aware that the people's trust is not unlimited. It is time to pay back the debts. The vital interests of Siberians are my campaign platform. Now it is my platform as a deputy. We have begun assimilating new approaches to the problems of the kray's socioeconomic development. Four priority areas were discussed by the entire population and were approved as special programs at a kray party conference.

The ecology. Food supplies. Housing. Commodity goods. Those are the areas. If today we do not seriously address the people's interests, if we do not correct the industrial bias, we shall be making a big mistake. But the most important thing is that this might stop the development of our productive forces. And we cannot allow that to happen.

[L. Batynskaya] I recall a scientific-technical conference that was recently held, with the broad representation of the kray's party, soviet, economic, and scientific workers. I liked the dialogue that the specialists had. Do you know what I liked? Our Siberians opposed the departmental pretensions—unfortunately, everyone has not yet been restructured!—not with narrowly regional ones, but from state positions.

[O. Shenin] Well, why must it be axiomatic today for the kray that there is one and only one concept, that has been developed by the departments? The multilevel nature of the national economy is not a lack of system if scientific substantiation and complete integration exist. In general I feel that a state without the social health of man is an abstract concept. Take, for example, the same Krasnoyarsk Aluminum Plant (Kraz). Who would have thought decades ago that it would become the ecologically dirtiest production entity in the center of the kray? Well, they didn't think then, so it is necessary to think today. Especially since Mintsvetmet [Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy] is coming out with a new proposal: build up the capacities of the Sayansk Aluminum Plant by many thousands of tons. Without a doubt we need aluminum, and the kray must and will continue to produce it. But our scientists and specialists have come up against what?—the latest in a series of departmental promises: we'll start up a new system for purifying the gas, we will use burned anodes... Words. For the time being, these are only words. And this is what causes their hostility.

[L. Batynskaya] The way I understand it, it is this active position taken by the scientists that forms the basis of the ecological program—sensible limits to the capacities, and making an agreement with nature. Is that correct?

[O. Shenin] The state approach to the matter at hand includes within itself (in totality) the interests of the departments and the kray, scientific elaborations, and public opinion. A onesided approach is harmful. Take, for example, the Krasnoyarsk GES. At that time people completely trusted the designers, but those designers, when carrying out preliminary tests and also in the course of construction, made serious miscalculations. Then the attempt was made to convince everyone that the climatic changes in the Krasnoyarsk area are not linked with the hydroelectric power plant. But how could they fail to be linked with it? For dozens of kilometers below the dam, the Yenisey does not freeze during the winter, but in the summer the water is icy; the river has lost the ability that nature had given it—the ability to purify itself. The famous “king of fishes” remains only on the pages of Viktor Astafyev’s novel. Add to this the fumes during the winter months that are concentrated with the discharge from the enterprises.

We rejected both construction plans—both the Turukhan GES and the Central Yenisey GES. We were supported by scientists and by the public. Today, when correcting the errors of the Krasnoyarsk GES, no new errors should be made. While the power engineers are working out the various alternative plans, young scientists who are simply enthusiasts have gathered under the roof of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences. Their voices in defense of the ecology are sounding louder and louder.

[L. Batynskaya] The people of Krasnoyarsk support the protest against the departments’ diktat. It may be that herein lies the strength of the aggressive movement and the intelligent independence of the kray, a strength which in no way leads to confrontation with the state interests. But time... Time is implacable. And the people, as was shown by the pre-election meetings, want to see the results of their own efforts—if not today, then at least tomorrow.

[O. Shenin] Everything becomes known when comparisons are made. It is, of course, a bit early to be proud of the results. But there have been shifts. We are returning to normal life: the situation has become simpler with milk and one can always find poultry and butter in the stores. So both the organizational and economic measures have had an effect. About 30 percent more fodders have been procured for animal husbandry. It is gratifying that no loans were taken—we produced them ourselves.

But you are right in saying that time is implacable. But time that has not been correctly interpreted, time that has been lost—that is what is more frightening. At meetings with voters—and in general with the residents of the kray—we discuss both our housing program and

the program for producing consumer goods. We plan not only the development of our own base in the construction industry, and the broad construction of buildings from Krasnoyarsk timber, but also the purchase abroad of highly productive technological lines and equipment, including plumbing articles and concrete tiles.

We have already worked out the problems of producing wallpaper by our own efforts. We have begun the remodeling of existing enterprises and the changing of their area of specialization. We are creating new production entities. And all this is for what purpose? So that furniture, washing machines, separators, and other types of household appliances can appear as quickly as possible in the homes of our Siberians.

[L. Batynskaya] Did you mention all of this to the people at the pre-election meetings?

[O. Shenin] Yes, I told the voters “Here are the paradoxes in the management of our economy, and you know them as well as I do.” And here are the four key areas, the four programs, which to a certain degree (I personally think that it is to a greater degree) determine the socioeconomic development of the kray. Including those in the remote rural areas of the kray. The programs are realistic. But in order not to drown them in words, it is necessary to have active work. Both my work as a first secretary and a people’s deputy, and your work as a journalist, in order to form public opinion clearly and precisely; the work of the local soviet, which is supposed to be the real owner in the territory; and the work of everyone at his work station.

I took a trip around my electoral district. What can I tell you... The construction base is weak. But are there opportunities to reinforce it? Yes, there are. Consequently, we shall reinforce it. The lines that bring electrical power to the villages. This is the question of questions. When will it be resolved? As the expression goes, as early as yesterday... There are not enough vegetable storage facilities. And those are not the only things that are in short supply. We need processing plants. If we do not do this, we will be without food products. Our land is capable of feeding us. The only thing that we need is to have an owner’s eye everywhere... We have a leather enterprise in Kansk. They make good-quality leather there. But the capacities have already become obsolete, and it is necessary to renew them. And on an urgent basis. We are beginning to build a shoe factory on a shared basis with foreigners. If we have good-quality leather, we will have our own good, fashionable shoes. And the quality of the commodity is the profit. It is the quality of life. Everything is interrelated...

[L. Batynskaya] Oleg Semenovitch, you have mentioned the priority tasks, on the solution of which the attention of the party, soviet, and economic workers has been concentrated. I can understand your concern: people must sense the real changes in their everyday life, they

must see finally that the air is becoming cleaner, that the store shelves are becoming richer, and that housing is becoming more accessible. All this is indisputable. But, to put it honestly, I catch myself thinking that the factor that is becoming the crux of the matter is the economic function of party administration...

[O. Shenin] To put it more precisely, it used to be, because we are discussing—if I understand you correctly—the division of the functions of the party agencies and the soviets of people's deputies. This process has already begun. Although people continue to ask the kraykom for help: help in purchasing equipment, in "leaning on" factories producing components, in persuading a minister... It is primarily here that I see the party's authority. But I also see the force of habit, if one considers that today the economic administrators have been granted broad rights. But by no means everyone knows how to work without being prompted, how to make decisions independently, or how to assume responsibility. Local initiative, an enterprising ability in work—those are the things that it is important for us to learn right now, at a crucial turning point in time. As for party work... I feel personally that life itself (and the election is eloquent confirmation of this) forces us to get away from the telephone and the "economic desk," to go out and meet people, to look for meetings with them, to take part in the most varied discussions, to be unafraid of tough questions, to know how to convince people... In a word, life forces us to return to political methods, to truly ideological work. Hence our cadre policy. It is not enough today for a party worker to have engineering experience behind him. And his experience will save him even less if it is, so to speak, experience in issuing commands as an organizer. Whether you work in the economic department, in the legal department, or the ideological department, you are primarily a political worker. You must be able to get along well with people—you must know not only how to express your opinion, but also how to listen and how to empathize with people...

[L. Batynskaya] So far as is known to me, you are discussing the political worker, his qualities that are based on his own experience. His combat experience, I would say.

[O. Shenin] You have in mind Afghanistan... Yes, in the early 1980's I happened to work in that country as a party advisor. In three provinces—Lagman, Kunar, and Naigarhar. And I happened to be conducting negotiations. In general, negotiations are a difficult matter, and in this situation they are also rather risky. Because, essentially speaking, we used to go behind the front line, to the border tribes. Obviously we could not take any weapons with us. We had only one wish—to stop the bloodshed at least on that small patch of ground. Many of our peaceful raids were fruitful. But there were also difficult ones. Very difficult... But this is by the way. We

are not talking about me. We are talking about the political worker as we would want to see him in our time—the time of political reform.

[L. Batynskaya] You know, I am convinced more and more that whatever questions we are resolving, whatever plans we build, and whatever lances are broken in administrative-economic and departmental disputes, our entire vital activity rests upon the human factor. Upon the ability to work with people, to build production relations on the basis of social justice.

[O. Shenin] Recently I returned from Norilsk. As you know, the miners had declared a strike there. I had to go down into the mine and to investigate the whole situation, down to the smallest details. The demands that the workers made are largely justified. They deal with the payment of labor and with hot food. There are also broader questions: the changeover of the miners to the second model of cost accountability, and in the long term to the rental contract. The miners asked, "Will we have to maintain the country's unprofitable enterprises at the expense of our own deductions for a long time?" They feel—and this is also completely reasonable—that the ministry should search for more effective ways to administer the economy. And so I ask the administrators: was it really necessary to bring people to such an extreme? Are there no other paths or are people speaking different languages?... Unfortunately, the councils in the labor collectives proved to be incapable democratically, on a legal basis, of resolving the production questions. So there is the human factor for you.

Of course, things today are not easy for all of us. It is not without pain that we are restructuring our way of thinking, it is now without errors that we are learning to live and work under conditions of glasnost and the democratization of society. For me personally, the lessons of the election have been worth learning. As a Communist, as a political worker, I have always considered, and I still consider, the most important thing to be the carrying out of an honest, open dialogue with people.

[L. Batynskaya] As a people's deputy.

[O. Shenin] Yes, and as a people's deputy. Everything that we are doing today and that we shall do in our kray is, by its very nature, of the people. Because we put in the center of the socioeconomic program the man of labor. And not in words, but in deed. Because it is only by one's concrete deed that it is possible to give an account to people, to justify their trust.

[L. Batynskaya] Oleg Semenovich, I know that you are a proponent of clear dialogues, and for that reason I want to ask you one more question: what is your attitude toward the press?

[O. Shenin] You yourself have said that I am a proponent of clear dialogues. Objectivity, lack of prejudice, the accurate interpretation of the facts—those are the things I would like to see on the pages of our newspapers. There are two concepts: the truth and lies. I do not accept lies. I fight for the truth.

Deputy Chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers Retires

18000882b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade Lev Borisovich Yerminev of the duties of first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee in connection with his retirement.

RSFSR Committee Criticizes Child Care Deficiencies

18000882a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by I. Novikov, TASS correspondent: "Children: How To Keep Them From Becoming Orphans"]

[Text] Among the social priorities, there is one toward which perestroika is particularly sensitive. This is the task of protecting mothers and children. It is no accident that at the very beginning of the implemented changes, party-governmental resolutions were adopted on the radical improvement of the upbringing, education, and material support of orphan children and children left without parental support.

How are these resolutions being implemented in Gorky oblast? This was the topic of discussion at the meeting of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Public Education and Culture.

It would seem that the children have someone to care for them in the oblast. Each boarding house institution has assigned patrons—the collectives of large enterprises and organizations. Guardianship councils are active, and the local section of the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V. I. Lenin also helps out. Yet from the very first words of Commission Chairman V. B. Aleskovskiy, who presided over the meeting, it became clear that the discussion would be impartial. It became especially acute after Deputy V. A. Ponomarev presented his co-authored speech. Yet the speech of oblispolkom Deputy Chairman A. V. Vtyurin left a bitter aftertaste in the mouths of the deputies. The picture which he painted was much too rosey.

The truth of the matter is that persons who neglect their parental responsibilities and who abuse the humane nature of Soviet legislation in many cases go unpunished.

The local Soviet ispolkoms, the heads of state institutions, law enforcement organs, social organizations and labor collectives do not always utilize their capacities to protect the rights and interests of orphan children and children left without parental support. Specifically, the oblispolkom is not demanding enough of building organizations which do not fulfill the plans for building and improving boarding house institutions.

These shortcomings are typical also for other regions of the Russian Federation. In some of them they are even more acute. A particularly difficult situation has arisen with the construction of children's boarding house institutions in the Dagestan, Tatar and Komi ASSR, in Krasnodar Kray, and in Leningrad, Kalinin, Saratov, Tambov, Tomsk, Tyumen, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts. The Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and the republic's ministries and departments are pointing the finger at each other and accusing the local Soviets of many sins. Yet they are taking no decisive measures to change the situation.

They have levelled sharp criticism against the RSFSR Ministries of Social Security, Public Education, and Public Health. It was also mentioned that there would be much fewer shortcomings in the work of the republic's boarding house institutions if the local Soviet and economic management organs performed a more in-depth analysis of the state of affairs. Many officials do not get down to dealing with children's institutions. This fact was pointed out by RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Deputy Chairman T. G. Ivanova, who participated in the meeting. She stressed the need for taking decisive measures aimed at keeping children from becoming orphans and at showing concern for the correction of irregularities in family relations.

The commission wrote in its resolution that the laws on the family and marriage need to be changed and improved. It would also be expedient in the course of perestroika to develop a system of socio-economic and moral-legal measures for strengthening the family and for further improving the work of children's boarding house institutions.

Moscow Ispolkom Proposes New Framework for Socialist Competition

18000859 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Article: "Independence, Search, Acceleration. Draft of the Basic Guidelines of Organization of Socialist Competition in Moscow"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The new tasks set forth by perestroika also require new approaches to accomplishing them. Today we publish the draft of a document drawn up by workers of the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom, the Moscow City Trade Union Council, and the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom, which is

designed to improve socialist competition and enhance its effectiveness. We invite labor collectives and residents of the capital city to take active part in discussing it.

An important role in implementing plans for the economic and social development of Moscow is assigned to socialist competition, enhancing the creative initiative and activity of the working people of the capital city, and stepping up competitiveness in all links of the city's economic structure.

In recent times competition which was based on bureaucratic administration, cut off from the economic mechanism, came increasingly to be formalistic in character and, in the long run, led to stagnation in labor rivalry.

Radical economic reform, the development of self-management in the enterprises, and the democratization of society demand new approaches to the organization of socialist competition. It must be geared toward dealing with social and economic problems and based on the voluntary interests of every labor collective and every worker involved in it.

What is needed is a unity of indicators of economic activities and competition, a rejection of any artificial division of material incentives or the results of productive activity and for participation in competition, and harmonization of sectorial and territorial interests in the course of labor rivalry. It is essential to enhance the role of glasnost and comparability of results, to create the conditions necessary to duplicate advanced experience, and to make broader use of contests and reviews.

The contribution made by enterprises to the social-economic development of the capital city must constitute the main characteristic of participation in competition.

As the adoption of full cost accounting and self-financing proceeds, economic competition is becoming a vital form of socialist rivalry among enterprises.

Under conditions of this kind of competition, only the labor collectives can decide whether or not to take on collective, group, and individual socialist obligations.

The tallying of the results of competition must be carried out simultaneously with an evaluation of the results of the economic activities, and material incentives must be based on the formation and utilization of the enterprises' and organizations' cost-accounting earnings.

The development of competition among enterprises must be facilitated by enhancing the role of the local soviets in the administration of a territory. Gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms must promote the effective work of every enterprise and create conditions for competitive activities.

The organization of competition on the city level is provided by the Moscow City Trade Union Council and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies (city and rayon).

Competition in Moscow is conducted on three levels: within the enterprises, between enterprises, and between rayons of the city.

Intra-facility Competition

1. Socialist competition within enterprises is designed to achieve high end results in economic activities and in the social development of the labor collective. This kind of competition is objectively based on bringing the principles of full cost accounting, self-financing, and self-management to each subunit and worker in the enterprise through the adoption of the collective contract on the level of shops and independent sections, forming a wage and labor incentive fund in these subunits, distributing the fund among the brigades, links, and workers on the basis of an assessment of their labor contribution, conferring broad economic rights on the contract collectives, and setting up labor collective councils within them.

2. The basic form of labor rivalry within an enterprise is competition among subunits and workers to make the greatest contribution to the results of the collective effort. In evaluating this contribution, it is necessary to take account of both the productive and the social results of the effort, because it is important not only to stimulate the production of goods and reduce production costs but also to provide good working conditions, social and consumer services, and make use of available social reserves.

3. In order to enhance the effectiveness of the competition, subunit collectives may draw up and adopt programs of organizational-technical and other measures to be utilized when determining plans of future periods, as well as in the course of implementing current plan targets.

4. The administration and trade union committee (shop committees) of the enterprise and the shops carry out an analysis of the economic and social activities of the subunits (shops, sections, brigades), evaluate their work, and prepare proposals on the basis of the results of competition.

The labor collective council (collective councils) tallies the results of the competition and determines the place of each collective involved in the competition.

Winners of the individual competition within the plant are confirmed, by profession, by the enterprise's labor collective council.

5. Material awards on the basis of the results of collective competition are given on the basis of the formation of wage and incentive funds depending on the end results of their work. Awards to section and brigade collectives are given on the basis of the formation of their wage fund depending on the coefficient of labor contribution obtained. Awards to individual workers are given by distributing the wage fund among them in accordance with the coefficient of labor participation.

It is also possible to give awards to collectives in the form of preferential social benefits provided out of the social development fund.

Moral incentives to collectives and workers who have achieved the best results in competition within the enterprise consist of titles of honor, challenge pennants, red banners, and other forms.

6. In the course of competition for making the biggest contribution to the results of economic activities, extensive use should be made of contests and reviews designed to foster improvement in the various aspects of activity of the enterprise, the development of professional skills, and the inculcation of professional pride. These can be participated in by workers, specialists, employees, quality groups, temporary creative collectives, and other social formations.

In conducting contests and reviews, the administration and the social organizations of the enterprise should be guided by the necessity of accomplishing high-priority production, economic, and social tasks and eliminating bottlenecks; they must map out the specific directions for tapping the creative efforts of the workers and collectives in order to raise the technical level of the products, conserve material and labor resources, and improve the quality of the goods and other indicators.

The basic criteria for evaluating work submitted to a contest or review comprise the economic and social effect gained from the adoption of innovations, originality, novelty, and progressiveness.

7. Awards to winners of contests and reviews come out of the wage fund and the material incentive and social development fund on the basis of consultation with the trade union committees and the labor collective councils.

On the basis of the results of contests and reviews, the administration carries out joint efforts with the social organizations of the enterprise to disseminate the experience of the winners, informs the collectives about the latest techniques, and organizes enterprise exhibits to display the achievements of individual workers and subunit collectives.

Economic Competition Among Enterprises of the City

1. Economic competition includes state enterprises that have been converted to full cost accounting, self-financing, and self-management, leased enterprises, and also cooperative enterprises and organizations. The aim of this kind of competition is to meet consumers' demand for effective, high-quality, and competitive products (work, services) with the least possible outlays, making it possible for the labor collective to generate high cost-accounting earnings (profit).

2. The role of the most important organizer of competition among enterprises is played by glasnost, on the basis of which the Central, local, and departmental press, television, and radio broadly publicize the activities of the enterprises, portray their accomplishments and shortcomings, and provide information about new forms and methods of work.

3. In comparing the efforts of the enterprises, the prime factor to be assessed is which one is "doing the best work" for the rayon (city), meeting its manifold needs, and taking part in implementing social programs. When comparing the work of the enterprises, it is essential to take account of their accomplishments in sectorial competition.

4. Enterprises and organizations producing the best results in competition may be granted preferences in regard to providing their workers with organized trade services, public food services, and consumer services, allocating space for the construction of housing, cultural and service outlets, and so on. A part of the funds received by the enterprises in connection with measures carried out by local soviets to promote better utilization of reserves of production may, on the recommendation of the raysoviet, be turned over to institutions and organizations of the rayon to develop the social sphere.

The rayispolkoms, the Moscow Gorispolkom and Moscow City Trade Union Council may establish moral incentives on a rayon or city level for the best collectives (red banners, pennants, certificates of honor, and so on).

Competition Among Rayons

1. The aim of competition is to increase the contribution made by a rayon's working people to the overall results of the capital city's social-economic development, to ensure effective functioning of enterprises and organizations in the production and non-production spheres located in its territory, and to improve the people's standard of living. Competition is designed to increase the revenue portion of local budgets designated for the financing of the production and social infrastructure, development of the territory and other measures of regional importance, and increasing the production of food products and consumer goods and the sphere of services.

Competition among the rayons must be based on raising people's involvement and local soviets' effective utilization of their growing rights and powers in regard to managing the affairs of the rayon.

2. The Moscow Gorispolkom and the Moscow City Trade Union Council are to determine the best rayons which have achieved excellent results in fulfilling plans of economic and social development and have made a substantial contribution to the economy and the social sphere of the capital city.

The most important tasks, successful accomplishment of which is to be taken into account in determining the best rayons, are these:

- regular implementation of the program for the completion of housing and social facilities and most complete satisfaction of the rayon public's needs by these institutions;
- improvement of the rayon's development and good maintenance of that aspect; implementation of environmental protection measures.

Preference in the evaluation is given to those rayons in which additional social and cultural facilities have been built by mobilizing internal reserves and with active participation by the population in that effort, also the rayons which are successfully dealing with problems relating to the development of the social sphere that are important to Moscow as a whole.

It is also essential to take account of the quality of services in the social sphere; the maintenance of order in trade and public food services; the elimination of shortages in goods of prime necessity; increased consumer services and the adoption of new types of them; the establishment of operating routines and hours that are convenient to the public in the enterprises and organizations of transport, trade, public food services, health care, housing and municipal services, and so on.

3. Evaluation should take account of reducing the number of loss-making and unprofitable enterprises on the basis of adopting effective forms of cost accounting, leasing them, or turning them over to cooperatives. Preference is given to rayons which successfully adopt elements of regional cost accounting.

The public's and the labor collectives' assessment of the activities of the rayon soviet is to be taken into account.

Rayons which produce consistently high results in socialist competition throughout the year are to be nominated to be awarded the Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee, also the Red Banner of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU.

Please submit responses and proposals to the Moscow City Trade Union Council at 103009, Moscow, Georgiyevskiy per., 2.

Orthodox Priest in Estonia Registered as Peoples' Deputy Candidate

18120080 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 12, 26 Mar-2 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by Grant Gukasov, "MOSCOW NEWS" correspondent: "Pastor of Kadrina Parish"]

[Text] Pastor of Kadrina Parish has been registered as candidate for people's deputy of the USSR in Rakvere northern national-territorial constituency No.474.

For an Estonian, home is sacred. Cleanliness, comfort and order have been musts since time immemorial. Illar Hallaste's home is wide open, with neither gates nor fence, and the Zhiguli car parked in the yard hasn't been washed since the day it came off the plant's assembly line. The children—Hilja and Illar have seven—are always in the doorway of the study.

"Four candidates have been registered in our constituency," Elmo Ounmaa, secretary of the constituency election commission, told me. "Juri Peinar, editor of the local newspaper VIRU SONA; Siim Kallas, deputy editor of the republic newspaper; Lieutenant-Colonel Nikolai Zaitsev and Illar Hallaste, an Orthodox priest. We in the commission considered it to be undemocratic to convene a constituency meeting and entrust to it the fate of the candidates. Let the worthy win in the election struggle which, judging by everything, will be very tough."

Elmo Ounmaa thought it premature to assess the candidates' chances. However, he expressed the opinion that last autumn's bureaucratic opposition to the pastor's candidacy as a deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet has now significantly raised the priest's popularity in the eyes of the voters.

This is also facilitated by the complex, though short, biography of the 29-year-old pastor of the Kadrina parish. In childhood Illar was like all children his age: school, the Young Pioneer organization, the Komsomol. He enrolled in the law department at Tartu University. The decision to be baptized was at first a youth's simple protest against lies and formalism. He crossed himself and the university authorities learned about it: "We can't have an active opponent of atheism among our students or train a lawyer with anti-Marxist views". In 1979 he was expelled from the Komsomol and from the university. His wife, Hilja, was compelled to leave the same university while in her third year in the mathematics department. They had two children. Illar got work as the head of a post office, enrolled in the correspondence courses of the theological school in Tallinn, graduated from it and received a parish.

"There have been simply fantastic changes in Estonia over the past year—changes which we couldn't as much as dream about till not long ago," says Illar. "As soon as the Estonian people began seeking a concrete realization of their lawful rights, a wave of opposition arose inside as well as outside the republic. Only patience, confidence in the radical perestroika, persistence, and support of the country's leadership made it possible to cover the whole year's route, step by step, and to outline what to do next.

[Correspondent] But this is beyond the church's interests, isn't it?

[Hallaste] Not at all, although people's moral health, protection of their rights, assertion of their dignity and the feeling that they are real masters come first in my election programme. Of paramount importance in this case is the law on freedom of conscience to be discussed and adopted by the new composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I'm familiar with the draft Law, bewildered by it and can't accept many of its articles. Therefore, it's so important for me and for the believers of my parish that I should be a deputy and directly participate in its discussion and adoption.

[Correspondent] Were there are obstacles to your registration as candidate?

[Hallaste] Quite a few, but the press helped me. The paper VIRU SONA—whose editor, Juri Peinar, is my immediate rival at the forthcoming elections—ran a front-page article late in January, the main point of which boiled down to the fact that the registration of a priest as a candidate for deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet was one of the manifestations of genuine democracy.

Illar looked at his watch with anxiety, disappeared from the room and turned up in a few minutes in the strict attire of a clergyman. On that day he had to attend a divine service in the church, a burial and a baptism...

"I've known Illar Hallaste for many months," Toomas Kork, first secretary of the Rakvere district Party committee, told me. "We've worked a lot together in the district branch of the Popular Front. He can do a great deal but has almost no experience in politics. I think he won't always be taken seriously. Our society is still unable to take a priest seriously, without a smile. He will be heeded and answered politely but nothing more. He should have first worked in the Republic."

Soon the electors will decide where Illar Hallaste should begin his political career.

Writer Ready To Step Aside as Election Candidate in Favor of Worker

18000781 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Apr 89 p 2

[Open letter from D. Valeyev, writer: "Let's Yield the Mandate to a Worker"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] Published below is a letter from the writer D. Valeyev, a candidate for people's deputy for the

Vakhitovskiy National-Territorial District No 636 of the city of Kazan, to his election opponent A. Kononov, rector of the Kazan State University.

Esteemed Aleksandr Ivanovich! For two months now you and I have been conducting a stubbornly fought pre-election fight. On 9 April we will have the runoff tournament, at which our fate will be decided for the next five years. One of us—either you or I—will become the deputy from Vakhitovskiy District No 636. And now on the eve of this day I would like to propose to you something perhaps unexpected not only to you but also to others. This has been suggested to me by reports on the results of the elections held on 26 March. They were surprising for the following two reasons: the highest organ of authority includes approximately 35 first secretaries of obkoms and party gorkoms. I will not comment on this circumstance. My appeal to you is caused by something else. What was astounding is the fact that the body of the people's deputies will include very few representatives of the working class. Although in the present body of the country's Supreme Soviet the number of workers is more than 35 percent, after these elections there will be considerably less of them in the country's highest legislative organ.

This means that the enormous working stratum of the people, the basic productive force of society, in essence will not be represented in a worthy fashion in the Soviet parliament. Its many-sided interests will be defended by all kinds of "bosses", general directors and simple directors, big-shot administrators, and administrators of a slightly lower rank. The following fact is obvious: the administrative-command system, which we are all trying at present to rein in, is something which we have been struggling to curb for four years now, and this time it seemed as if we were going to put the right people at the summit of legislative power in this country.

You and I, Aleksandr Ivanovich, have entered upon the path of politics. So let's be politicians. Let's calculate the political consequences of this "operation." I don't know about you, but I think that the situation which has been created is unjust. I am categorically opposed to such a turn of "democracy," whereby a significant portion of the people has in essence been removed from the higher power structure (albeit by a "democratic" method).

How should we save the situation? It could happen that after the 9 April runoff and the 14 May general elections, when the vacancies for USSR people's deputies will finally be filled, the people, and in particular the working class, will suddenly come to realize that it has been bypassed.

In connection with these conditions which have arisen, I propose the following to you, my comrade in the list of combatants for the seat of deputy for Vakhitovskiy National-Territorial District No 636. What would you think if you and I were to remove our candidacies in favor of representatives of the working class? I am

convinced that in our district it would not be too difficult to find a worthy, thinking, and principled candidate from among the workers of Kazan, one who would be independent of the bureaucratic structures. Please understand that I am not opposed to the principle of representation as such. But allow me to point out that no deception would take place, and this is a complex political struggle in which the working class also must occupy a more active position. You and I now have an opportunity to say to the people that what has changed in the country is not only the political situation, but to a certain extent we ourselves. Let me point out that behind our declarations and promises, with which we have been so generous recently in setting forth our respective platforms and programs, there stands a readiness to take genuine steps! And that the country's intelligentsia, its scientific and artistic, party, and trade-union workers are capable of genuinely merging with the entire interests of the people, proceeding to perform acts of self-abnegation, overcoming our own egotism. It's not just a matter of the situation in our district or even that in our republic. The scope of our actions is the entire country. Let me reveal the direct purpose of my suggested demarche: I think that it is necessary to influence the results of the 9 April runoff elections, and mainly the results of the 14 May general elections. If our example proves useful both for the people's delegates and for the people themselves, who in the final analysis must decide who is elected, then it may turn out that the results of the runoff elections in 76 districts and of the general elections in 199 districts will have a substantial influence on the structure of the highest legislative organ in favor of workers, peasants, and those members of the intelligentsia who work directly with them.

It is important to create a precedent in the country, to radically change the undesirable tendency of setting up an opposition between the people and a stratum composed of "general directors", a tendency which has dangerous consequences. It is important to create a mechanism for exerting pressure on election procedures. You and I can add a great impulse to the democratization of our society. The price of this is a high one—the loss of your or my seat as deputy. But for the sake of true democratization of our life I think that we could agree to this.

I hope you understand that this proposal is not dictated by my weakness. As a result of the 26 March elections for our district, there has been a certain amount of intensified agitation directed against me, included crude attacks in the press. And you did beat me by a certain number of votes; but in the 9 April runoff election I might beat you. You will agree that we both have a real chance to win. And I call upon you, of course, to resolve this difficult matter: to voluntarily renounce your possible victory.

In the final analysis, Aleksandr Ivanovich, what do you lose? You already have a great deal of real power in your hands and considerable possibilities for influencing the

life around you. You are head of a department, rector of a university, chairman of the city's council of rectors, member of the university partkom, member of the party obkom, deputy—for nine years already—of the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the commission on youth affairs in this Soviet, member of an international association of rectors.... Without doubt I have failed to list all your titles, posts, and positions. Perhaps I have more to "lose" than you do. After all, besides the pen in my hand, I have nothing; I am a writer, and this means I have only a spiritual influence on a certain circle of people.

I also have another idea. Your and my "shop" interests are now completely clear, and they will already be widely represented in the Congress of People's Deputies. My interests—by deputies from the USSR Writers' Union and other public organizations; your interests—by those from academic circles.

If you do not agree with my proposal—and of course that is your right—I will naturally continue my struggle for the deputy's seat. And my supporters will also continue it. And of course in case I win on 9 April, I will try in my activity as deputy to represent the interests of all working people as if they were my own. Many collectives of Kazan enterprises, as well as individual workers, have already addressed a number of requests to me. Their suggestions are well-grounded, intelligent, and coincide with my own ideas. As deputy I would try to implement these. I would not spare my efforts to carry out those requests which have come in from other strata of the people—from women and from the intelligentsia. But it would be a pity if you and I, as well as other candidates for the office of deputy, and all delegates lose a genuine chance to exert an influence on the political situation in our society as a whole, and to substantively effect the 9 April runoff elections and the 14 May general elections. You and I now have an extremely rare opportunity to directly influence this country's moral and political climate. And before the voters of our district have their say in the 9 April runoff election, I await your reply. I suggest that you take this major political step.

Composition of Belorussian CP Listed
18000920 Minsk KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII in
Russian No 4, Apr 89 pp 31-33

[Article: "The Belorussian Communist Party in the Mirror of Party Statistics"]

[Text] With the letter entitled "I Believe in the Cause and the Conscience of the Party" by V. Dzyuba, a worker from Brest, as published in the first issue of this journal, the editors inaugurated a discussion about the urgent problems connected with acceptance by the CPSU and upgrading the quality of the party ranks. The topic treated herein has not left our readers indifferent. Many are interested in the following questions: What changes are occurring in the composition of the republic-level

party organization? How are the decisions about abolishing various categories, etc., as adopted at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, being reflected in the work of accepting members into the CPSU? The answers to

these and other questions are furnished by the data of party statistics and by the commentary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Section of Party-Organizational and Personnel Work.

Numerical Composition of the Belorussian CP

| | On 1 Jan 87 | On 1 Jan 88 | On 1 Jan 89 | Net change 88-89 |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| CPSU members | 658,206 | 671,107 | 682,816 | +11,709 |
| Candidates | 21,781 | 20,818 | 16,343 | -4,475 |
| Total communists | 679,987 | 691,925 | 699,159 | +7,234 |
| of these, women | 199,835 | 206,734 | 211,370 | +4,636 |
| per cent | 29.4 | 29.9 | 30.2 | +0.3 |

Acceptances into the CPSU

| | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | Change 1987-88 |
|-------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|----------------|
| Accepted as candidate members | 20,592 | 19,202 | 14,192 | -5,010 |
| Accepted as CPSU members | 21,437 | 20,267 | 18,353 | -1,914 |

Composition of Accepted CPSU Candidate Members by Occupation (in per cent)

| | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | Change 1987-88 |
|--|-------|-------|-------|----------------|
| Total candidate members accepted | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| Broken down as follows: | | | | |
| Workers | 57.7 | 57.1 | 49.4 | -7.7 |
| Kolkhoz members | 13.7 | 13.9 | 15.7 | +1.8 |
| Engineering-technical personnel, agronomists, livestock experts, scientific personnel, teachers, physicians, and other specialists in the national economy | 25.1 | 25.8 | 31.0 | +5.2 |
| Administrative and management personnel | 3.0 | 2.7 | 3.4 | +0.7 |
| Students | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | — |

Acceptance of Women and Komsomol Members as Party Candidate Members

| | 1986 | | 1987 | | 1988 | | Change 1987-88 | |
|------------------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|----------------|------|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| Komsomol members | 14,384 | 69.9 | 12,815 | 66.7 | 8,252 | 58.1 | -4,563 | -8.6 |
| Women | 8,813 | 42.8 | 7,986 | 41.6 | 5,150 | 36.3 | -2,836 | -5.3 |

Number of Expulsions and Departures from the CPSU

| | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | Change 1987-88 |
|---|-------|-------|-------|----------------|
| Expelled from the CPSU | 4,315 | 3,659 | 3,876 | +217 |
| Left the CPSU per Sec. 8 of the Charter | 246 | 261 | 359 | +98 |

Number of Expulsions and Departures from the CPSU

| | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | Change 1987-88 |
|---|-------|-------|-------|----------------|
| Left the ranks of candidate members when refused CPSU membership per Sec. 16 of the Charter | 352 | 393 | 658 | +265 |
| Total expelled from or who left the CPSU | 4,913 | 4,313 | 4,893 | +580 |
| Broken down as follows: | | | | |
| CPSU members | 4,194 | 3,565 | 3,802 | +237 |
| Candidate members | 719 | 748 | 1,091 | +343 |
| Died | 6,607 | 7,109 | 7,259 | +150 |

Network of Primary Party Organizations and Number of Communists Registered in Them

| | On 1 Jan 87 | | On 1 Jan 88 | | On 1 Jan 89 | |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| | No. of party organizations | Communists in them | No. of party organizations | Communists in them | No. of party organizations | Communists in them |
| Total | 15,000 | 679,987 | 14,998 | 691,925 | 14,787 | 699,159 |
| Broken down as follows: | | | | | | |
| Industrial, transportation, communications, and construction enterprises | 3,854 | 286,703 | 3,829 | 290,162 | 3,804 | 291,536 |
| Sovkhozes | 912 | 57,386 | 911 | 57,936 | 888 | 57,560 |
| Kolkhozes | 1,672 | 90,396 | 1,638 | 91,020 | 1,615 | 93,269 |

As may be seen from the table cited above, by the beginning of 1989 the ranks of the Belorussian CP numbered 599,159 communists—one percent more than in 1987. During the preceding two years the numerical increase amounted to 1.8 percent. The slowest growth rates occurred in the Gomel and Vitebsk oblast party organizations, where during the year the increase in the party ranks amounted to 0.1 and 0.6 percent respectively.

During 1988 the new generation amounted to 14,192 persons. This is 5,010 persons or 26.1 percent less than were accepted as candidate members in 1987. A reduction in the number of acceptances took place in 145 out of 160 rayon and city party organizations. In the Soligorskiy and Krichevskiy City, Pruzhanskiy, Gomel City Central, and Grodno City Oktyabrskiy Rayon party organizations acceptances decreased during the year by 40-60 percent.

Certain party committee and preliminary party organizations have not accorded sufficient attention to creating a base for growth, especially in the workers' collectives, and this has affected the social structure of the new replenishment. The proportion of workers among persons accepted amounted to 49.4 percent, as contrasted with 57.1 percent at the beginning of 1988. Acceptances by the party has decreased by more than half in the

Rogachevskiy, Volkovskiy, Polotskiy city and Moskovskiy party organizations of the city of Brest, the Maloritskiy, Stolinskiy, and Central party organizations of the city of Gomel, as well as the Novobelitskiy, Grodnenskiy, Oktyabrskiy, and Zavodskiy rayon party organizations of the city of Minsk, and in the party committees of the Brest Electro-mechanical Plant, the Integral and Gorizont production associations—by 60-65 percent. At the same time in most of the above-listed rayons workers predominate in the composition of the employed population.

There are fewer Komsomol members in the party replenishment. Their proportion in the number of persons accepted decreased from 66.7 to 58.1 percent, whereas in the Minsk and Mogilev oblast party organizations it decreased by 10.4 and 9.9 percent respectively. Less than 50 percent of young persons were among those persons accepted in the Glubokskiy, Dubrovnskiy, Shumilinskiy, Narovlyanskiy, Pukhovichskiy, Smolevichskiy, Soligorskiy, and Bykhovskiy rayon party organizations, while in the Rogachevskiy and Krichevskiy city organizations—these figures were 39.3 and 38.8 percent respectively. Such a trend in the acceptance of young persons by the party could lead to a natural "aging" of these party organizations. Moreover, in most of them even at present the average age of communists is higher than it is for the Belorussian CP as a whole. For example, in the Gomel, Vitebsk, and Mogilev oblast-level party organizations the average age of communists is 45-46 years.

There has been a noticeable reduction in the acceptance of women by the party. Among CPSU candidate members accepted last year they amounted to 36.3 percent, as compared to 41.6 percent in 1987. In the Kobrinskiy city, Drogochinskiy, Kormyanskiy, Lelchitskiy, and Uzdenskiy rayon party organizations their proportions decreased by 12-20 percent, and they amounted to less than 25 percent of the total. Moreover, within the composition of the employed population women constitute more than 53 percent, while in the composition of the Belorussian CP this figure is 30.2 percent.

The trends outlined here in the practical work of forming the composition of the Belorussian CP attest that the party committees and primary party organizations have not everywhere drawn practical conclusions from the demands made by the Central Committee about strengthening the party ranks, developing the activism and increasing the discipline of communists. Many party committees have virtually ceased concerning themselves with political and organizational work among non-party persons, especially workers, or with selecting worthy candidates for the ranks of the CPSU. They have allowed this important matter to drift.

In connection with this, the results of growth in the CPSU ranks during 1988 were discussed in the section of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, while the chiefs of the party obkom sections for party-organization and personnel work were present. It was recommended that the party committees profoundly and multifacetedly analyze the work of admitting persons to the CPSU during 1988, and that measures be adopted to further improve it.

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**UkSSR Supreme Soviet Discusses Work of
Ukrainian UN Delegation, Foreign Travel**
18000805a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
1 Mar 89 p 3

[Article: "In the Foreign Affairs Commission of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On 27 February the regularly scheduled session of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Commission was held under the chairmanship of Deputy A.V. Merkulov.

It examined the matter of the results of the work done by the UkSSR delegation to the 43rd Session of the UN General Assembly and the tasks for the UkSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stemming from the speeches made by M.S. Gorbachev to the UN and at a meeting with Kiev's working people.

After listening to the report by the head of the delegation UkSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs V.A. Kravets, the commission noted that the UkSSR delegation had actively taken part in explaining and advancing the new

Soviet initiatives and had become a co-author of the resolutions on an all-encompassing approach to firming up international security, on certain matters of disarmament, and resolving regional conflicts by peaceful means.

Having given a positive evaluation to the delegation's work, the commission, at the same time, emphasized the need to step up the efforts of the republic's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and permanent missions abroad to utilize the possibilities of the international organizations for solving the acute problems of the present time, based on the new political thinking in the interests of our people and all peoples of the world.

The commission recommended that the UkSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and permanent missions abroad within the international organizations pay particular attention to matters of disarmament, conversion of military production to peaceful purposes, including the republic in the international division of labor, ecological security, humanization of international relations, and unblocking regional conflicts.

It was noted that we need to increase the role played by the UkSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the coordinator of the actions and efforts of all this republic's ministries, departments, and scientific institutions which participate in the activities of international organizations. Particular emphasis was laid on the importance of activating work on expanding this republic's participation in the USSR's cooperation with the socialist countries.

Also examined at the session were matters connected with ensuring the necessary conditions for Soviet citizens taking trips abroad on service or private business.

It was noted that, as a result of expanding foreign economic ties, contacts in the humanitarian sphere, and the removal of many restrictions and formalities in the matter of Soviet citizens traveling abroad, the number of persons exiting the republic during the last few years has increased several-fold. This has caused difficulty in the present-day filling out of documents, securing travel tickets and currency for those going abroad; it has also caused lines to form.

The commission recommended that the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs use its accumulated experience to speed up the filling out of documents in the visa and registration organs.

Taking into account the prospects for increasing number of persons traveling abroad to foreign countries on service and private business, the responsibility of the tasks confronting, in this connection, the Ukrainian Civil Aviation administration and railroads, the subdivisions of the Vnesekonombank and Zhilsotsbank, the

commission has appealed to the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet to assign the republic-level government the task of examining these matters and of taking the necessary measures.

Participating in the discussion were Deputies V.I. Yurchuk, F.S. Babichev, V.P. Osnach, V.V. Sekretaryuk, and T.P. Luchaninova, as well as representatives of several ministries, departments, and organizations. Taking part in the work of the commission was N.G. Khomenko, secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Belorussian CP Central Committee Discusses Memorial Book, Reinstates Former Party Members

18000805b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 24 Mar 89 p 1

[Article: "In the Buro of the Belorussian Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee at its regularly scheduled session examined the issue of and outline measures for dealing with the critical remarks and proposals uttered at the republic-level meetings of the party-economic activists which took place on 28 and 30 January 1989. Appropriate instructions in connection with this were issued to the party obkoms, to the leading communists of the BSSR Council of Ministers, BSSR Gosplan, the republic's ministries and departments, oblistpolkoms, and the Minsk Gorispolkom.

The decree of the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the BSSR Council of Ministers was passed concerning the development of a republic-level, comprehensive program for the years 1990-1995 to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES on the territory of the BSSR. Materials will be published in the press.

The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee discussed the matter and adopted a decree on creating a Memorial Book in this republic which will include information about those soldiers who died in battles for the Motherland, partisans and members of the underground who were born in Belorussia, and patriots who were buried on the territory of this republic—members of other ethnic groups and nationalities of the USSR, and about peaceful inhabitants who were subjected to the enemy's terrorism.

What the Buro has in mind is that the Memorial Book, the completion of which is proposed basically by the 50th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War, will comprise a multi-volume (approximately 130 volumes) historical-documentary chronicle for each rayon and city of our republic.

It was emphasized at the session that the measures to be carried out in this republic with regard to gathering, summarizing, and approving data to be included in the Memorial Book is of great sociopolitical and educational importance. This project will take on the nature of a nationwide movement to create a chronicle of the military and labor deeds of the population of each region of the republic at all stages of its history. It will actively facilitate the patriotic and international education of working people, and especially young persons.

The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee noted the fruitful activity being done in this direction by the collective of the "Belorusskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya" Publishing House imeni P. Brovka, as well as many local party, Soviet, and Komsomol organs, military commissariats, veterans of war and labor, historians, regional-studies specialists, military-internationalists, Komsomols, Pioneers, and schoolchildren.

In order to coordinate the work on preparing and publishing the Memorial Book, collecting and checking out the materials to be included in it, a republic-level commission was formed under the chairmanship of S.Ye. Pavlov, chief of the Ideological Section, Belorussian CP Central Committee. It has been deemed as feasible to set up analogous commissions under the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms.

In connection with the 150th anniversary of the birth of the Belorussian poet-democrat F.K. Bogushevich, which will be celebrated on 21 March 1990, the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee approved measures for preparing and celebrating this jubilee. A republic-level jubilee commission was formed, and I.Ya. Naumenko, vice-president of the BSSR Academy of Sciences, was confirmed as its chairman.

Having examined the proposals of the commission, the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, upon additional study of the materials connected with the repressions which took place during the period of the 1930's, 1940's, and the early 1950's, and the Party Control Commission under the Belorussian CP Central Committee on the matter of the party spirit of certain persons unjustifiably expelled from the party and condemned to capital punishment, and later fully rehabilitated in a juridical procedure, the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee adopted a decision to restore the following persons (posthumously) to the CPSU:

Golman, Mikhail Borisovich—former docent at the Belorussian State University, joined party in 1917 (expelled in 1927);

Dombrovskiy, Karl Antonovich—former first secretary of the Pukhovichskiy Party Raykom, joined party in 1909 (expelled in 1937);

Zyuzkov, Andrey Ignatyevich—former deputy director of the Belorussian Institute of Mass Correspondence Education (BIMZO), joined party in 1925 (expelled in 1937);

Kovalchuk, Zakhar Zakharovich—former chairman, Belorussian Central Council of Trade Unions, joined party in 1920 (expelled in 1937);

Kuznetsov, Ivan Nikolayevich—former director of Beltorf Trust, BSSR People's Commissariat of Local Industry, joined party in 1918 (expelled in 1937);

Mezis, Avgust Ivanovich—former chief, Political Administration of Belorussian Military District, joined party in 1912 (expelled in 1938);

Pasyukevich, Petr Osipovich—former chief, Art Affairs Administration under BSSR SNK, joined party in 1919 (expelled in 1937);

Prishchepov, Dmitriy Filimonovich—former BSSR People's Commissar of Agriculture, joined party in 1918 (expelled in 1929);

Ryzhkov, Ivan Pavlovich—former chairman, Council of Trade Unions of Eastern Siberian Kray, joined party in 1913 (expelled posthumously in 1940);

Khaskin, Samuil Berkovich—former first secretary, Zaslavskiy Party Raykom, joined party in 1919 (expelled in 1937);

Chernushevich, Dmitriy Silych—former deputy director, Institute of Literature, Art, and Language, Belorussian Academy of Sciences, joined party in 1917 (expelled in 1936).

Restored (posthumously) to the CPSU was Kazachenok, Georgiy Semenovich—former second secretary of the Poleskiy Obkom of the CP(b)B, joined party in 1918, unjustifiably expelled from party in 1938 and condemned in May 1940 to 10 years of imprisonment as an "enemy of the people" (he died in 1943 while in prison). In 1954 he was fully rehabilitated in a court procedure.

The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee approved for (posthumous) membership in the CPSU the juridically fully rehabilitated former deputy chief of the Art Affairs Administration under the BSSR SNK—director of the Belgoskino, Konik, Dmitriy Yudovich, joined party in 1915, sentenced to capital punishment in 1937 upon being falsely charged with belonging to a so-called "counter-revolutionary, Trotskyite, terrorist organization."

The session of the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee examined several other matters of organizational-party and ideological work, and the republic's socioeconomic and cultural development.

Informal Environmental Group Challenges Ufa City Executive Committee

18000601 Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 8, 22 Feb 89 p 12

[Article by Yuriy Zarechkin: "After the Rally; How the Ispolkom Deals with Changes in Public Life"]

[Text] Our newspaper has written about the chairman of the Ufa city executive committee who captured his post in a competitive election and who—also in the spirit of the times—quickly encountered the phenomenon of informal movements. A rather typical perestroika situation arose. On the one hand, there was a leader democratically chosen by a plurality of representatives, and on the other he was a person who, according to members of the informal movement, was stifling the development of public initiative. The mayor was faced with the quandary of how to work in the conditions of broadening democracy.

Probably no one will argue any longer that the unusual for Ufa residents event, the mass environmental protection rally that took place on November 29, 1987, was not just a moment of truth when democracy asserted its rights. From that day on, the city ispolkom and its chairman Mikhail Alekseyevich Zaytsev have really begun to feel the presence of a new, well-organized force. But the question was whether or not that was a force of good. A year after those events we met for a discussion. How would the mayor assess the past months?

"My first days at the ispolkom coincided with a very difficult time. The fact that perestroika and democratization were moving ahead full steam was clear and I could not close my eyes to the importance of the reforms that we had to carry out. Even before that, there had been attempts in Ufa to solve environmental problems, but after that memorable rally environment promptly became first priority for the new city soviet. Your correspondent reported on the session we called at the time. The fact that representatives of the incipient environmental movement were allowed to attend that session and to speak at it was, in my opinion, a radical departure. In the end, not all of the informal groups' proposals were adopted, but it is most important that we opened a working channel of communication with their leaders, the city newspaper began publishing an Environmental Report and the environmental department was established at the city ispolkom."

"Which probably was the first such department in the country. I have never heard of anything like this."

"Neither have I, and I would be very glad if our city ispolkom turned out to be a pioneer in this area. But unfortunately not everything has been going smoothly; I hope that we will talk about the structure and the function of the ispolkoms later, but in the meantime I would like to stress difficulties of a different kind. Relations between the authorities and the public have

been difficult. There may be some things we do not understand and other things they, our opponents, do not. For instance, the city soviet rejected the proposal of the group's leadership to organize a local environmentalists' society. Our reasons were clear: there is already a Society for the Protection of Nature, so what do we need another one for? And, to be honest, I was completely at a loss when at a recent city conference of the society, during the election of its leadership, D. Novitskiy and S. Molodtsova, the leaders of the public council "For the Clean Air" created after the rally, withdrew their candidacies declaring that they had more important things to do. Incidentally, we do not deprive members of the informal group of the opportunity to function officially, jointly with the ispolkom: we have repeatedly offered the movement's leaders to become free-lance instructors of the environmental department, to register their informal group at the city soviet and to collaborate with the ispolkom. We were serious about those offers. Yet, they have done nothing besides promising to consider them. The time, however, passes, and passes very quickly."

The peculiarities of the situation were becoming more and more clear as I talked with Zaytsev and became acquainted with the opinions of other people, documents and facts. One typical feature of perestroyka is the following: had this public rally taken place before April 1985, a rally that triggered a session of the city soviet and a reaction from a commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, one that caused a radical program in defense of the public and the environment to be adopted—would the issue not have been already closed? Of course it would have been. But now, the ispolkom has been under siege for a full year, with people shouting: "This is not enough! Give us more! We want even tighter controls!"

(Incidentally, one of Moscow journalists reproached Zaytsev for not being ready to accept the idea that the public wants to exercise control over state entities. But who is ready in this country? When was it normal in the past for people off the street to be admitted to a city soviet session, much less allowed to propose an alternative program? I think that it is far, far too early for us to be so self-righteous. On the other hand, it is possible that that reporter has always been a free thinker and that even before perestroyka he held very independent views.)

There are many examples showing that the public climate is different today. Before the 19th party conference, Novitskiy proposed to invite to the Sports Arena all those who wanted to express their wishes to the delegates. City authorities wanted to do the same thing. The newspaper printed an invitation and during the meeting almost everyone who wished to speak had a chance to do so. However, Novitskiy, who was made a moderator, suddenly decided not to speak like everybody else and gave up his turn to a member of his organization. This latter tried to read a speech off a piece of paper, but the public shouted him down. And then he suddenly announced: "I declare no confidence to the chairman of the ispolkom!" I do not venture a guess who

wanted to provoke a crisis and why, but in the end Zaytsev won the round. People supported him, and not the self-styled representatives of the people. As to Novitskiy, he realized his mistake and sent a note asking to speak after all the other speakers, but it was too late. The agenda could not be changed on his account. Democracy is not anarchy and we should never forget that. However, Novitskiy interpreted the events as another cause for complaint. The pressure was kept on.

I think that the battle waged against the official authorities by their opponents often transgresses the limits of reasonable. Let me stress that the limit I mean applies to this still-imperfect and functioning under a strain, but nonetheless essentially popular form of state power of ours. If I am not mistaken, democracy between allies is not just pluralism of opinions, discussions and parliamentary and non-parliamentary debates but a mutual desire to find an acceptable solution, to find a compromise and to understand each other. This is not an argument between rivals. Or do Novitskiy and Molodtsova think that Zaytsev, who has been at his job for only a year and a half, is solely responsible for the city's ills that have been accumulating for decades? Have their focus not shifted too much? If we want to be firm in our assessments, this is where we must start.

The next stage in the relations between the informal groups and the city ispolkom—they had already been strained—stemmed from politics. It is also important to note that the situation was influenced by general factors characterizing the current political reform and the process of democratization, regardless of where the events take place.

The following unusual document appeared in the Ufa city soviet in early June of 1988. I quote it verbatim from a copy in my possession:

"On the Decision to Call the 6th, Extraordinary, Session of the 20th Ufa City Soviet of the People's Deputies:

"Having reviewed the documents submitted by the credentials commission of the city soviet, the city soviet ispolkom resolves:

"to call the 6th, extraordinary, session of the 20th Ufa city soviet of the people's deputies on June 3, 1988 and

"on the suggestion of the credentials commission of the city soviet, to place on the agenda of the session the issue of violations of the election law committed by the district election commission during the election to the Ufa city soviet of the people's deputies in the election district No.390.

"[Signed] City Ispolkom Chairman M.A.Zaytsev and City Ispolkom Secretary Sh.Sh.Baliullin."

I cannot remember another instance when the issue of violations of the election law were raised so openly. But I was even more fascinated by the facts behind this document. They were not only different; they were, to put it bluntly, astounding for our election practices.

Only a week prior to the date the extraordinary session was called, a regular city soviet session had taken place, probating the results of the vote in the election district No.390. V.Abroschenko, head of ispolkom administration, was confirmed as the new district deputy, replacing the former deputy. The report of the district commission contained the academic statement that 100 percent of all eligible voters voted in the poll. Everything would have been fine, except after the new deputy was installed, six citizens came forward claiming that the election law had been violated.

What were the discrepancies? For instance, the report, as you recall, stated that 100 percent of voters cast their votes, whereas the citizens' complaints... No, I must provide the general details of the case. One T.Shvetsova reported that she had not voted for 25 years. V.Rakmatullina and her husband did not vote and did not come to the polling station. R.Machuyeva cast 5 ballots for her entire family while T.Prokhorova 3 ballots; L.Zulkarnayeva did not come to the polling station and one couple, the Svetlakovs, lodged a protest because members of the elections committee campaigned on the day of the election for one of the candidates.

I think that it was useful to recount these stories in detail, since they mirror a long-standing, and long-compromised, practice. Voters rebel with increasing intensity against elections without choice but, alas, our leaders' habit to chase after participation figures often dims their reason and civic conscience. Actually, pathos may be excessive here. It was not just a handful of violations that happened to slip the commission's attention. The city soviet's credentials commission found that a total of 43 registered voters did not vote, which amounted to 1.9 percent of all voters, and the margin of the winning candidate's victory was inflated in the report. Moreover, on the election day the polling station closed 2 hours earlier than it was supposed to.

Naturally, the extraordinary session accepted the credentials commission's proposal to annul the results of the April election at the election district No.390. A new election was called on July 10.

This time, the election commission acted properly. The election, which was contested and featured two candidates, and which Abroschenko still won, was held in full compliance with the law. Formally, no questions remained. Yet, informally...

In the course of the election campaign, the city soviet received a memo from the action group, or rather, the so-called public council "For the Clean Air and Water", nominating S.Molodtsova as a candidate for the city

soviet. The ispolkom chairman consulted with the district commission, which refused to register the candidate on the grounds that the organization was not official and it was against the law.

Is this an open-and-shut case? I do not think so. There have already been discussions on the limits of power and competence of those who nominate candidates and the candidates themselves. Jurists have defended the laws, thus far quite successfully. But I think that the situation is changing, or rather has already changed. On the wave of democratization public organizations have been growing by the day and their "civil disobedience" has become not so much a threatening factor as proof of certain qualitative changes in our public life. Since we are becoming increasingly open to the idea of self-nomination by candidates (if certain conditions are met), why not take the next step and allow public movements and groups with no membership requirements or firm organizational structures to nominate candidates for elections on their behalf?

The informal movement did not stop there. They once again provided food for thought, and not to ispolkom members alone. A precedent arose which could in the future raise an even more serious problem, both a procedural and a moral-political one.

During the July 10 election, 15 ballots were cast for the write-in candidate Molodtsova, by no means a large number. The effectiveness of the election campaign waged by the informal group was low. (The by-now-usual instructions stuffed into mail boxes that read: "Comrade voters, we ask you to scratch the name of the candidate on the ballot and to write in the name of candidate Molodtsova, Saviya Gimaletdinovna, an organizer of the environmental rally" had little effect.) But at the same time, I can see what difficulties would have arisen before the election commission and other such organizations if these instructions were carried out not by 15 voters but by more than half of the electorate. Should they act according to the existing regulations and annul the results since the candidate was a spontaneous and unregistered one? Or should they admit that the official candidate is unpopular and accept the will of the majority the electorate in that district? What is legality (legal vs. illegal) in the conditions of growing and developing local autonomy? In some situations, norms could already be obsolete. Will there be a conflict every time?

I see, of course, the flaw in my reasoning. As long as it is in force, a law is a law. But first, law on local autonomy is precisely what we lack and, second, why should we disallow in advance a region's desire to establish its own procedures for electing local officials?

On the other hand, against the background of democratization, the same words and practices often mean different things to different sides in a dispute. This is apparently why some informal group members often want to leave their movement. They write that they are

tired of the words, rallies and resolutions to which Novitskiy and Molodtsova limit their efforts and demand actions from them too—not just from the authorities. In the opinion of many people who think constructively, a public movement that hopes to be a mass movement must have a larger agenda than merely filling the vacuum in controls from below, or providing a form of controls that were unclaimed under the conditions of limited democracy that existed in the past. Today, practice has shown that any mass movement must be a constructive force. We have plenty of destructive elements already; what we lack is constructive and businesslike elements. As to building, or restructuring, it is better when done jointly, with unofficial groups complementing the efforts of the local popular authorities, not pitting their interest against those of... Well, perhaps I should not be lecturing anyone on the basics of political science.

The goal is to combine the interests of the people with those of city development. How many problems has this difficult task raised! In our conversation, M.A.Zaytsev mentioned a great many of them: to establish elected positions on environmental issues at enterprises, organize 10-day cleaning and planting campaigns, set up an experimental problem-solving lab at the university and make use of cooperatives in the campaign to help protect the people from environmental pollution. And what about the idea to set up a local environmental protection fund? (Although why just a local one? Why not one for the autonomous republic or the union?)

Many projects are being undertaken, but as the ispolkom's chairman noted, proposals can at times turn out differently in practice. He has to constantly wage battles against ministries for rational and environmentally safe plant designs. The famous rally was in fact related to one such battle, against the construction of a polycarbonate production plant. But is the problem of the trimming facility for the cotton fabrics plant in Ufa less acute? Should the plant simply get the 15 hectares of city land? I agree with Zaytsev that such problems can be resolved only jointly, and must be concentrated in one hands.

In our discussion about the interests of the population and local authorities we have unwittingly returned to the most important issue: the legal rights of the sides and, in particular, the ispolkom's authority in various areas: in politics, economics and environmental issues. Zaytsev thinks that under new conditions, and especially after the imminent reform of the system of soviets, we must at last clearly define the legal powers of the ispolkoms and select the optimal organizational framework for them.

At that point of my conversation with the mayor, ispolkom secretary Sh.Valiullin and organizational department director E.Maliyevskiy were also present, and I asked all three of them how they envision the ispolkom in the post-reform period. The processes from below, public initiative, glasnost and control by the

public place new demands on those who administer power, on the so-called bureaucrats. In the mean time, following the first all-union congress of deputies, there will also be reform from above. New soviet presidiums will be established; they will, let us call a spade a spade, take power away from the ispolkoms. What will the ispolkoms become?

At an intersection of diverse opinions, it is hard to find the unquestionable or absolute truth. Importantly, in my opinion, the future "new ispolkom" will have an uncertain and contradictory status. My interlocutors unanimously expressed their concern that the ispolkoms would become a powerless appendix fulfilling purely operational functions. The livelihood of all municipal employees depends on subsidies from enterprises. The ispolkom relies on the body of elected deputies, i.e., on the councils of labor collectives, to push through decisions favoring the city. In the new framework with the soviet presidiums, the direct link between the ispolkoms and the deputies will be severed; who needs the additional entities, in this case?

Sh.Valiullin mentioned that they, too, had thought of setting up a city soviet presidium—they even wrote memos higher up—but their idea was different: the new entity was meant to be a public organ, headed by a senior deputy, a doyen of the people's representatives, as it were; its main function would be to work with organizations of elected deputies, such as commissions, groups and soviets, which would report to that authoritative organ.

In the old structure of the city soviet, such an addition may have been welcome. Now, however, the ispolkom must think of different questions. Such questions, for instance as whether or not the ispolkom, stripped of its elected deputies (the chairman will be the only exception), will still be able to ensure the city's livelihood. Will the existence of a new, more senior structural body diminish the local power entity's ability to carry out its responsibilities? The new and independent (and hopefully more independent than before) city soviet headed by a presidium will coexist with equally independent (or even more so than before) executive bodies [the party apparatus]. True, the new rules which permits combining the chief party and soviet posts will in many places make the de facto power de jure. But the essence... In this case, by losing an effective ispolkom we lose a possible counterbalance to the party committee without getting anything in return. There is food for thought here.

Naturally, structural reforms should not affect the top alone. Regardless of their future role, the ispolkoms must still improve their own apparatus. Zaytsev and his colleagues think that it is necessary to partially restructure ispolkom administrations and departments. The reason for setting up the permanent environmental department was already mentioned; as to such entities as the planning and economic administration and the legal and agricultural industry departments, the need to set them

up has been suggested by the times. It is especially important to develop a different approach to economic management, which is why the new planning and economic administration has been proposed, to replace the old planning commission (the gorplan) and the old comprehensive development administration. The current procedure of gathering requests for the plan [departmental budgets] should be replaced by expert assessments and serious computations. But as far as I understood, the crux of the matter in this area is whose responsibility it will become. What will be the final administrative structure created by perestroyka? In the end, how will city centralization and local autonomy, self financing and local budgets and all other questions of division of power and labor relate to one another?

It is clear to me, as it is to others: the problems that have accumulated in Ufa reflect the general situation in the country. Several years ago the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA noted that the relationship between elected and executive organs in this country has become distorted, the status of elected soviets has fallen abnormally low and they have become subordinate to the ispolkom apparatus. Now, the trend is starting to improve. This is a definite positive brought about by perestroyka. At the same time, there is another kind of danger, or another extreme—this is what I am driving at. Indeed, after the current stage of political reform, the soviets will rise above the apparatus and push the ispolkoms to a secondary role. But is it possible that the result of this action will be so strong and unpredictable that the soviets will actually lose their ability to carry out their functions and essentially become unable to govern? Would it not be better to think in advance and in time about combining representative and executive functions in one hands in a rational manner, not pitting one against the another, without neglecting the democratic principles on which they both are equally based?

Meanwhile, another report from Ufa: the informal group lodged a complaint with the prosecutor's office, alleging that the ispolkom keeps them from setting up the organization called "For the Clean Air and Water" as a legal entity with a statute identical to that of the Society for the Protection of Nature.

Clearly, they still insist on doing it their own way.

What should the ispolkom and Zaytsev do?

Kazakh Council of Ministers on Rural Social Underdevelopment

18300573a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 2 Apr 89 p 2

[Report by KazTAG correspondent: "Affirming the Principles of Social Justice: From a Session of the KaSSR Council of Ministers Presidium"]

[Text] As already reported, the regularly scheduled session of the KaSSR Council of Ministers Presidium examined the question of measures for accelerating the development of certain socially backward, remote rayons in our republic.

This issue was not raised by chance. The fact of the matter is that, during the stagnant years, the gap in the standard of living between the urban and the rural populations grew wider. The "remote areas" turned out to be in a particularly onerous situation. This is to be explained by the psychology of many leading officials and may be boiled down to the following postulate: it is far more prestigious to erect "monuments" to oneself in oblast and rayon centers in the form, let's say, of zoological parks or luxurious palaces of culture than to build hospitals and schools facilities for everyday services and trade, as well as community utilities in remote auls and villages, or to extend well-built roads out to them.

Moreover, this republic's previous leadership did not grow tired of affirming "Kazakhstan's rapid upsurge," or of calling it none other but a "laboratory of friendship among peoples" and a "glittering facet of a diamond." Euphoria over non-existent successes turned out to be, in fact, a flouting of the principles of social justice. And this was felt, above all, specifically by the "remote areas," whose population consists overwhelmingly of persons belonging to the indigenous nationality.

Taking this state of affairs into account, along with broad-based public opinion, the republic's government assigned KaSSR Gosplan, along with oblispolkoms, ministries, and departments, the task of studying the problem very carefully and preparing an appropriate draft decree by the time the CPSU Central Committee Plenum "On Improving Inter-Ethnic Relations in the USSR" was to be held. Working on this task took an entire half year.

And here the draft was brought up for discussion at the KaSSR Council of Ministers Presidium. The most interested group in the hall comprised the rayispolkom chairman who had been specially invited for the purpose of discussing the draft, as well as the leading officials of the ministries and departments on whom will depend, to no small degree, the fate of the measures being outlined.

In opening the session, N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, noted that out of this republic's 205 rural rayons, 71 have a very low level of social development. And out of these 71 rayons, 30 are in a genuinely intolerable condition.

He named the specific places: in Aktyubinsk Oblast these include the Bayganinskiy, Irgizskiy, Uilskiy, and Chelkarskiy rayons; in Alma-Ata Oblast—the Kurtinskiy, Narynkolskiy, and Uygurskiy rayons; in East Kazakhstan Oblast—the Katon-Karagayskiy Markakolskiy, and Tarbagatayskiy rayons; in Guryev Oblast—the Beyneuskiy, Kzyrkoginskiy, and Mangistauskiy rayons; in Dzhambul Oblast—the Moyynkumskiy and Sarysuskiy rayons; in Dzhzhzhkazgan Oblast—the Aktogayskiy and Ulytauskiy rayons; in Kustanay Oblast—the Amangeldinskiy and Dzhhangildinskiy rayons; in Semipalatinsk

Oblast—the Aksuatskiy, Makanchinskiy, and Chubartauskiy rayons; in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast—the Burlyutobinskiy Rayon; in Ural Oblast—the Dzhanybekskiy, Karatobinskiy, Taypakskiy, and Urdinskiy rayons; in Chimkent Oblast—the Algabaskiy, Kzylkumskiy, and Suzakskiy rayons.

The first and most immediate task is to bring these rayons up to the average level of their respective oblasts, and then to the average level for the republic as a whole. With regard to the accelerated development of 30 other rayons, the adoption of decisions has been entrusted to the oblispolkoms themselves, whereas for the remaining 11 rayons, the funds for development will be sought in conjunction with drawing up the plans for the 13th Five-Year Plan.

D.Kh. Sembayev, deputy chairman of KaSSR Gosplan, delivered a report on the matter under discussion.

One of the most acute problems in this republic's economy requiring the quickest possible solution is eliminating the considerable lag in the social sphere. The onerous situation which evolved in providing the population with social goods and services took shape as a consequence of serious miscalculations in the comprehensive development of these regions.

The following fact was cited: even when the residual principle of distributing funds for the social sphere was predominant, during the 10th and 11th five-year plans they were not assimilated. There were many reasons for this, but the main one was the insufficient attention being accorded to developing the construction base. Therefore, a disruption was also predetermined for the assigned tasks with regard to introducing housing, schools, children's preschool institutions, facilities for social, cultural, and everyday services, health care, and communal utilities.

During the current five-year plan there has been a reorientation of the economy, a turning toward the high-priority development of the social sphere. And in those places where a genuine concern for people has been manifested positive results are clearly evident. There are quite a few such examples in this republic. At the same time, however, a number of rayispolkoms have poorly implemented the rights granted to them and have taken a passive attitude toward their territories' chronic lagging behind. For example, in the Moymikumskiy Rayon, Dzhambul Oblast last year the limit of capital investments for building schools was assimilated to 52.6 percent and hospitals—only 16.9 percent of the total. As they say, it could be worse, but there's not much room left to fall lower!

At present in the republic preschool institutions in the rural localities provide vacancies for only 44 percent of the children, about 70 percent of the pupils are enrolled for study in the first shift at general-education schools; two-thirds of all hospital beds are located in auxiliary or

emergency areas, 29 rayon centers lack any standard hospitals or polyclinics. Many rural populated points have no running water; they use water which is either hauled in or obtained from uncovered, outdoor bodies of water.

Whereas the infant mortality rate for the entire republic is 29.2 per 1,000 of population, in a number of rayons this indicator is higher by a factor of 2 or 3. And the disease rate of tuberculosis, viral hepatitis, and intestinal infections remains high.

The centers of many sovkhoses, kolkhoses, and their divisions have not been gasified, despite the fact that they are situated near main gas pipelines; engineering networks and intra-farm roads are also poorly developed here. In the final analysis, all this leads to an outflow of a part of the population, particularly young persons, to the cities, and unless exhaustive measures are taken, such migration might become irreversible.

After thoroughly analyzing the data which it received, the KaSSR Gosplan, together with the oblispolkoms, interested ministries, and departments, prepared a draft decree for this republic's Council of Ministers.

In particular, this draft provides that in 1990 and during the 13th Five-Year Plan the accelerated social development of the above-indicated 30 remote rayons of 11 oblasts will be ensured. Living here are approximately 1 million persons, or almost 15 percent of the republic's rural population.

It also outlines the introduction in 1990 of housing with a total space of 200,000 square meters and during the 13th Five-Year Plan—more than 1 million square meters, as well as general-education schools with 63,500 pupil vacancies. All the assigned tasks for developing the social sphere have been specifically scheduled by rayons, including children's preschool institutions, everyday-service facilities, health care, community services, trade, public dining, as well as the volumes of road construction.

According to preliminary calculations, in order to carry out the measures proposed in the draft decree, we would need to seek out and assimilate about 200 million rubles in 1990. And during the 13th Five-Year Plan on an annual average this figure would be 274 million rubles, as contrasted with the 145 million which are being allocated during the current five-year plan.

Of the capital investments for 1990, 50 percent is being channeled into the construction of housing and general-education schools. Moreover, we need a differentiated approach to the development of rayons so as to observe the principles of social justice. In order to do this, the construction of facilities will be implemented depending upon their already existing level.

A distinctive feature of the work which has been done in preparing this draft is the application of elements of the program-targeted method. In other words, it provides not simply for the construction of certain facilities, but also the attainment of specific end results. This required working out social problems at the level of farms, rayons, and oblasts.

Development of the rayons' social sphere is intended to be carried out by means of centralized capital investments allocated to oblispolkoms for non-production type construction. Sovkhozes and kolkhozes will carry out the construction of appropriate facilities basically by means of the profit which they are supposed to receive when operating under the conditions of cost recovery and self-financing.

However, taking into account the difficult financial conditions of several rayons, we will not be able to avoid allocating funds from the republic-level budget. Furthermore, during the 13th Five-Year Plan all oblasts will be operating on the principles of self-government and self-financing, and, therefore, they will have to achieve an increase in the revenue portion of their budget and capital investments for social development.

The measures which have been worked out for accelerating the socioeconomic development of remote rayons and the solution of the problems of strengthening the non-production infrastructure are certainly very important. But we need to gain a clear picture of the difficulties which will arise on this path. A great deal of organizational work will be required of the local Soviets, along with their ability to utilize their own rights, to set up and fine tune everyday monitoring controls on the progress being made in building the outlined facilities.

However, perhaps the main idea of the present-day situation is that the new economic mechanism and full cost accounting on the level of the basic unit—sovkhozes and kolkhozes—are create a favorable economic situation in the rural areas. Therefore, the important task of the local Soviets is to master non-traditional forms of working with labor collectives; the latter now decide independently what, where, and when to build.

Discussion of the draft decree gradually merged into an animated, frank exchange of opinions. And the fact that the emotional heat of the conversation was quite high is fully understandable: people were talking about a most painful subject. In particular, the following rayispolkom chairmen: Karatobinskiy—K.G. Rakhmetov, Uilskiy—Sh.S. Kalasov, Markakolskiy—Ye.A. Laptev, Aktogayskiy—Ye.K. Tusupbekov, Dzhangildinskiy—M.A. Kasymov, Narynkolskiy—B.K. Sabanchiyev, Mangistauskiy—K. Yespolov, and Ulytauskiy—S. Tlebayev talked about such acute problems as developing the base of rural construction, electrification, gasification, and telephonization of remote populated points, laying intra-farm roads with hard and black surfaces, as well as providing television-relay facilities.

Such comprehensive problems, of course, cannot be solved in isolation. We need the coordinated help of this republic's appropriate ministries and departments. Their leading officials, who took part in the discussion of the draft decree, stated their own ideas.

For example, V.V. Milov, first deputy chairman of the KaSSR Gosagroprom, noted that programs of gasification, construction of a system of roads, water pipelines, and sewerage for remote rayons will be drawn up as early as April of the current year. For this purpose, provisions have been made to develop the economic method, a base for the construction industry, an increase in the production of bricks, cement, and slate. The supply of pipes remains a bottleneck. But here too approaches are being made. This year the production of 9,000 tons of steel pipes will be organized.

In his speech U. Sarsenov, board chairman of Kazpo-trebtsoyuz [Kazakh Consumers' Union], dwelt on the use of positive experience in solving the food problem. There has been positive experience at the Sovkhoz imeni Krupskaya, located in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. There a duplex apartment house was turned over to women on a pension who buy up surplus meat, milk, and vegetables from the population, prepare them in the kitchen, and cook outstanding dishes from them, as well as culinary items such as marinades, various types of pickles, and all these things are in very great demand in the village. We must employ all measures to develop such necessary projects. The necessary funds and equipment would be found if only the leading officials of the rayons and farms were interested in this.

The situation with regard to the roads in the remote rayons is extremely complicated, as admitted by Sh.Kh. Bekbulatov, this republic's minister of highways and roads. At present 118 central farmsteads at sovkhozes and kolkhozes do not have good-quality road connections with the rayon centers. The problem now stands as follows: in 1990 and during the 13th Five-Year Plan we must triple the volume of rural highway construction. The ministry, in turn, will take the necessary measures, but, at the same time, each oblast should assume patronage of the remote rayons and, even now, decide who will be in charge of these roads. Because now many of them are neglected and out of order.

Electrification of shepherds' centers remains a big problem, stated B.G. Nurzhanov, first deputy minister of electrical engineering and electrification for this republic. Approximately 7,000 of them are located in a zone which is difficult to reach. Here we must be more active in utilizing diesel- and gasoline-powered units, as well as windpower. In Suzakskiy Rayon, for example, the first few small houses equipped with windmills have already begun to appear. It is planned to build the first wind-powered electric-power plant, having a capacity of 15 megawatts, in the Dzhungarskiy Gates.

In his speech E.Kh. Gukasov, first deputy chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of this republic's Gosagroprom, drew attention to those problems which will have to be solved for the farms when they convert to full cost accounting, the broad-based introduction of the new forms of labor organization and

wages. Now we must engage particularly in strengthening the base of rural construction and in increasing the output of building materials which have good future prospects.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, spoke at the session of the Council of Ministers Presidium.

It is noteworthy, he emphasized that this problem is being discussed on the second day after the elections for USSR people's deputies. Right away, without any shilly-shallying, let's get right down to the real tasks at hand—such must be the approach to vital problems. Today's discussion can with complete justification be called a radical turn to social development of the rural areas. The fact of the matter is that the bad tradition which has evolved was that everything should be developed by the center—whether at the oblast or the republic level—and this exacerbated the situation in the remote areas, a situation which was complicated enough even without this. The cities developed at the expense of the rural areas, and now we must reverse the process; to be more precise, the city should take every measure to help the village. That is precisely the way the matter was put at the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Now the evaluation must be given to the leading officials by proceeding from how the village is developing in the given rayon.

It flows from this that attention must be switched from the oblast and rayon centers to the sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Of course, this requires a definite intensification of efforts and changes in our very attitude toward the village. There no point in hiding it—the habits of showiness and bold reports are deeply engrained, especially in those leading officials with long periods of service in the oblast-level subdivisions.

You know, of course, how it used to be: Build an airport?—Be our guest! And whether it's necessary or not is another question. A palace?—Let's do it! Let's try to make it more luxurious and use a bit more marble.... And everything should be in the oblast centers—that's where the big bosses travel to more frequently.

It's not just a matter of excesses, but about the very approach to the matter in principle. Take Arkalik, for example. When you look at it, your heart aches: splendid building have been given over to be used as industrial enterprises. We turn it over or sell it to a department—that's not the heart of the matter, but rather the fact that all this was erected on funds which had been earmarked primarily for the remote rayons. In our opinion, we should put the matter as follows: each oblast official should now begin his activity with help to the remote rayons.

Today, in each speaker's presentation, G.V. Kolbin continued, there was a feeling of bitterness and insult over the state of affairs, and even a certain sense of

helplessness. But this should not be so in any way; we must not lose heart. We need to set to work as energetically as possible. There are so many tasks that not only every day, but also every hour is valuable.

Here's another thing that I'd like to emphasize. We must not let things slip back to the way they used to be: one day we ardently adopt a decision, and the next day we quietly depart, and the fire goes out. We cannot proceed that way nowadays; we don't have the right to do so. After this discussion the decree will be adopted, put into the necessary legislative format, and the funds will be granted. Roll up your sleeves and get to work; develop a front of operations. Support from the leading officials of this republic will be provided to you; we will facilitate your efforts and help you in every way possible.

And one more factor. Take a look at the next speaker when he comes up to the rostrum, and you will see that he is wearing the badge of a deputy of an oblast Soviet. Elections to the local Soviets and to the Supreme Soviets of the republics are no longer something "beyond the mountains." It will be particularly difficult to justify yourselves to the people for a position which you did not, perhaps, personally create.

Nowadays, based on the experience of the pre-election campaign and the elections themselves, we have become convinced that the people have become more demanding; they no longer pay attention to any kinds of ranks or previous services. The principal and main criterion for evaluating a leader is a genuine change of affairs for the better in the sector entrusted to him.

We must involve the city organizations more broadly in the radical renewal of the rural areas. In turn, industrial enterprises must join in the work without delay, after having chosen a point where to apply their efforts in the lagging rayons. As to the possibilities of the republic-level ministries and departments, their leading officials have appeared and spoken here; they are prepared to assist you in all manner of ways.

In his conclusion G.V. Kolbin noted that he thought that this session of the republic's Council of Ministers Presidium had to be evaluated as a phase. And here's why: in the multifaceted development of regions, in bringing the social level of the city and the village to an equal level, a new phase has begun—a phase not of words but of genuine, big deeds. Here there is no alternative: we must ensure the successful solution of this problem no matter what.

The results of discussing the draft decree were summed up by N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers.

He said that the subject up for discussion at this session had been prepared scrupulously, and that the state of affairs in the republic as a whole had been very carefully analyzed. And that, most likely, everyone sensed how

complex the situation was. Everyone's speech could be understood because this was a national sore spot for those people who live in these "remote areas." They present us with a serious and justifiable "bill" for an unsatisfactory state of affairs.

We are now going to attend the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which will discuss the problems of inter-ethnic relations in the country as a whole. But just what do we see in our own Kazakhstan when we speak about the equal rights of nations and nationalities, or about social justice? All too often—an inequality of some in relation to others.

When we assert that Kazakhstan is a rich republic, that its mineral resources are inexhaustible, we, for some reason, and despite all this richness do not pay attention to, and I am not afraid of using this word, its squalor. This is not an exaggeration. Here is a single figure for you: the annual income for an inhabitant of the Narynkolskiy Rayon amounts, on a average, to 780 rubles. Tell me, where is it any less?

Here's another factor of no small importance. As has already been noted, 1 million persons live in these 30 rayons. Now, 900,000 of them are Kazakhs. Women there, as a rule, have from 6 to 8 children, and there too is the highest infant mortality rate. How does all that square with "prosperity," "richness," and the "facet of a diamond"?!

As you, perhaps, may recall, several years ago our leaders spoke about Kazakhstan's unprecedented upsurge, and at the 15th Congress of this republic's Communist Party the report even proclaimed that there were no more "remote areas" here. Ten years have elapsed since that time. And only now have we come to understand the depth of the errors and the danger of substituting words for deeds.

In thinking about the years of stagnation, the Council of Ministers chairman continued, you come to the conclusion that, in addition to everything else, they also gave birth to a social inertia among the leaders at various levels. After all, you know, it is awful—but many of them were incapable of organizing even an elementary task. I simply cannot become accustomed to something like the following instances: there are two farms side by side—one is flourishing, the other is falling into decay. Tell me please, what can be the objective reasons for this? Why can't the rayon leaders introduce the experience of the advanced, progressive farms into the other ones?

Indifference is a very dangerous feature. And it's doubly dangerous if this quality is possessed by a leading officials—a person on whom, to no small degree, depend the fates of many, many persons. Only social inertia and social indifference can evidently explain this fact: out of 800 rural populated points, only 8 have sewer systems—less than 1 percent! Eight percent of all auls, villages, and populated points have running water, and 54 percent

have bathhouses! Is it possible that a sovkhoz or kolkhoz is incapable of building a bathhouse for itself with room for 25 persons? How can the chairman ispolkom sleep peacefully when his people have never seen a bathhouse? Who would resist his decision, either at the oblast- or rayon-level, to do some good for people?

Why are we having such a sharp discussion here, and why are we adopting such an extreme decision today? It's necessary that people understand the following: the current five-year plan has already been "written into the books"; there is nowhere to get any more funds from, as it were. But we, figuratively speaking, are making a forced landing—it's simply immoral to suffer such a "remote area." Therefore, let's call it an extraordinary social program for developing the remote rayons; the program which we are discussing today will be, to a large extent, based on the republic-level budget.

As could be noted, N.A. Nazarbayev emphasized, we have written in the paragraphs of the program first for specific sovkhozes and kolkhozes. We cannot allow the allocated funds to be dragged through the rayon centers or, even less so, through the oblast centers. In this connection, it would be feasible to write in a paragraph such as the following: forbid the diversion of funds from specific farms, entrust to Gosbank and the Agroprombank the task of withdrawing and returning funds channeled not for the designated purposes to the previous addresses for their complete assimilation. The oblispolkom and rayispolkom chairmen must take personal responsibility for carrying out this paragraph.

One more important factor. When speaking about raising the living standards of the rural population, implementing the Food Program, and the positions of the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we must concern ourselves with increasing the head of privately owned cattle among the population, particularly in the remote rayons. Because, after all, the welfare of each family depends on this. It is in no way suitable that 16 percent of rural families today have no kind of livestock at all.

Think a bit about the following figures: just during the period after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee this republic's population increased the number of privately owned cattle by 500,000 head, sheep and goats—by 1,200,000, and horse and pigs—by 200,000. In order to provide such an increase in the public sector, we would have had to pay out 1.3 billion rubles of capital investments and involve 34,000 workers earning 75 billion rubles in wages. The remote rayons have land and pastures; therefore, we must help people with fodders in all manner of ways. Each one of you rayispolkom chairmen must take this as your personal responsibility.

Now as to preparing for the upcoming Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Improving Inter-Ethnic Relations in the USSR." This republic's Council

of Ministers has worked out appropriate measures and recommendations with regard to developing Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh bilingualism. Here too we must proceed from words to deeds.

Nowadays business and office procedures are conducted in Kazakh in only 34 rayons. But we must achieve a situation whereby, and this was stated directly at the recently held Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, business is conducted everywhere in Kazakh. Naturally, proceeding from the genuine needs and conditions of this or that region. We must not infringe upon anyone's interests. The field of action here is truly an extensive one: translation, instructing typists, appropriate changes in VUZ curricula, serving people in their native language at everyday-service facilities, communications enterprises, and many other problems.

Adopted here is a well-developed decree of the KaSSR Council of Ministers entitled "On Measures To Accelerate the Social Development of the Remote Rayons of Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, East Kazakhstan, Guryev, Dzhambul, Dzhezkazgan, Kustanay, Semipalatinsk, Taldy-Kurgan, Ural, and Chimkent Oblasts."

It notes, in particular, that over the course of the last few five-year plans in the socioeconomic development of a number of this republic's remote rayons serious disproportions and a lag were permitted to occur. The condition of the non-production infrastructure, which has an industrial potential here, does not measure up to present-day requirements.

At the present time more than 120 central farmsteads at sovkhozes and kolkhozes lack hard-surfaced roads. The degree of their gasification and telephonization is extremely low; and more than 700 settlements use drinking water that has to be hauled in.

There are likewise quite a few problems with the condition of the available housing stock. The latter consists basically of framework-reed and clay-adobe houses which were built long ago. Newly introduced state and individual housing is quite uncomfortable. Most of the existing facilities of health care, everyday services and trade, children's preschool institutions, and houses of culture are situated in auxiliary areas which are all-too-often accident-prone. Many populated points lack the possibility for receiving the programs broadcast by the republic-level television.

As a result of all this, in those rayons where the indigenous population is basically concentrated, the people's living standards remain low, infant and maternal mortality, along with the overall disease rate, are high. Such a neglect of the social sphere in the remote rayons has facilitated, to no small extent, the increase in the migration of the rural population to the cities; it has reached 150,000 persons annually.

The decree emphasizes that such disproportions in the republic's remote rayons and the chronic lag of their social base were a direct consequence of the fact that the oblsipolkoms did not pay the necessary attention to solving the problems of their comprehensive development. The capital investments and material resources being allocated for this purpose have, as before, continued to "accumulate" in the oblast and rayon centers.

Paying heed to this entire complex of problems of social and economic development of the remote rayons, the Council of Ministers has obligated the appropriate oblsipolkoms, ministries, and departments of the republic to provide in 1990 and during the 13th Five-Year Plan for the construction therein of the outlined facilities for cultural and everyday-service purposes and communal utilities, trade and health care, children's preschool institutions, and housing.

When working out the plan for 1990 and for the ensuing five-year plan, the oblsipolkoms, ministries, and departments must ensure the maximum allocation of capital investments and material-technical resources, as well as the organization of construction-installation and contractual work necessary for carrying out the assigned tasks.

The adopted decree also provides for the gasification of the remote rayons, construction of roads, electric-network facilities, ATS's [automatic telephone stations], the development of television, radio, and certain other urgent measures.

That is the way the session of the KaSSR Council of Ministers Presidium proceeded. It was regular only in its schedule; in its contents it went beyond the framework of ordinary, "run-of-the-mill" sessions.

The fact that the republic's government turned its attention to the most acute needs of the people living in Kazakhstan's "remote areas" is not by chance. It was not dictated, as was the case all-too-often in the past, by conditions of the moment or by an attempt to "paint over the rust."

The measures outlined here are not cosmetic repairs but rather a well-thought-out and balanced offensive, having the following strategic target—the universal affirmation of the principles of social justice. For we cannot speak with a pure heart and a calm soul about equal rights, when thousands upon thousands of people, no matter of what nationality they may be, are living and struggling every day with various deprivations.

This session of the Council of Ministers Presidium also marks a phase in that now the work of this republic's government, is based, figuratively speaking, on a new point of calculation—the happiness of each family, of each person considered as an individual.

The decision to make such a radical turn, a radical acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the remote rayons, did not come to fruition suddenly or immediately. It was the logical continuation of a course aimed at the revolutionary renewal of all spheres of our society's life, where the number one priority is the people's welfare.

Now we must implement what has been outlined. The strategy is clear, the goals are visible, the offensive has been carefully planned, and everything necessary has been provided—now let's get to work!

There is no doubt that this noble, lofty task will consolidate all the active, creative forces of this republic.

KaSSR Supreme Soviet on Teaching Non-Kazakh Minority Languages

18300573b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 89 p 3

[KazTAG report: "In the Permanent Commissions of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The regularly schedule session of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission on Problems of Nationality and Inter-Ethnic Relations examined the work done by the Ministry of Public Education with regard to guaranteeing the constitutional rights of this republic's citizens who live beyond the boundaries of their own state-territorial formations, or who do not have them, to have their children instructed in their native language.

During the current year a number of measures have been undertaken to solve this problem. Presently in operation are 4,161 schools with Russian, 2,530 with Kazakh, 73 with Uzbek, 10 with Uygur, and 3 with Tajik as the language of instruction; there are also 1,158 combined-type schools. During the course of the last few years the study of their native language has been introduced for pupils of Azerbaijani, Dungan, Korean, Kurdish, German, and Turkish nationalities. For the first time the study of Polish, Chechen, and Uygur has been begun at schools where Russian is the language of instruction.

The Kazakh Pedagogical Institute imeni Abay and the Panfilovskoye Pedagogical College in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast provide schools with teachers of Uygur language and literature. In accordance with the decree of the

KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium entitled "On the Status of the Study of German as a Native Language in the Republic," during 1988 the plan for accepting students at the Department of German Language and Literature at the Kokchetavskiy Pedagogical Institute was increased to 50 persons, and the Alma-Ata Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, along with the correspondence form of instruction, has proceeded to begin the full-time, residence form of training teachers in this field. The Saranskiy Pedagogical College has begun to train teachers for preschool institutions with German as the language of instruction.

For the first time on a non-competitive basis several school graduates of Korean nationality from Kzyl-Orda and Taldy-Kurgan oblasts have enrolled at the Tashkent Pedagogical Institute imeni Nizami. The Central Institute for Upgrading Teachers' Skills has inaugurated full-time and correspondence-type courses for Korean-language teachers; they have also activated short-term courses for upgrading the skills of Korean, German, and Turkish language teachers. The Journalism Faculty at the Kazakh State University imeni S.M. Kirov has organized the training of specialists from among young persons of Korean, German, and Uygur nationalities.

Nevertheless, the republic's Ministry of Public Education and Soviets of People's Deputies are not yet according the necessary attention to discovering and solving the problems connected with language study by the children of nationalities living outside the borders of their own state-territorial formations, or who do not have them. The inclusion of children studying their own native language in schools and preschool institutions is unsatisfactory. The schools have been insufficiently provided with textbooks, methods literature, visual aids, and other instructional media. We have not yet ultimately solved the problems of training teachers and upgrading their skills.

The aid being rendered to the organs of public education and the local Soviets of People's Deputies, as well as by the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers with regard to increasing the acceptance of students and pupils into higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, opening up new departments and majors, introducing staff units of methods services, are not being utilized to the fullest extent possible.

A decree has been adopted on the issue discussed.

**Council for Religious Affairs Repeals
Anti-Religion Edicts**

18120078a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No
15, 16-23 Apr 89 p 8

[Article by Vladimir Shevelyov: "For a Limited Number
of People"]

[Text] By a special resolution, the Council for Religious
Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers has
invalidated the regulations and instruction adopted by the
Council in previous years (from 1961 to 1983).

The offices of the Council compiled instructions, then
dispatched them to authorized representatives in regions
and Republics, who, naturally, followed them zealously
without any thought that they may run counter to the law
and common sense, destroy local customs and outrage
the feelings of believers.

From time immemorial the church has helped the sick
and crippled, orphans and widows, homeless fire victims
and refugees, collected money for the needy, built
orphanages and taken care of the destitute. Laws govern-
ing relations between the state and the church didn't
prohibit charity work. But, in 1961, the Council for
Religious Affairs dispatched the following instruction to
the provinces:

**"Religious associations and priests must not be engaged
in activities other than those aimed at satisfying the
religious requirements of believers. They have no right...to
be engaged in charitable activity."**

The ringing of bells in Russian extolled with tenderness
and gratitude by writers and composers has been out-
lawed by a few bureaucratic lines:

**"The Executive Committees of regional (territorial) Sovi-
ets of people's deputies, the Councils of Ministers of
Autonomous Republics and Union Republics without
regional division may, in agreement with the Council for
Religious Affairs, ss decisions on the restrictions of bell
ringing."**

It is common knowledge that the decision to restrict
usually turns into a decision to ban, which is more simple
for officials. Finally, bell ringing was done away with and
could be heard only in cinemas or at the opera when
"scenes from the past" were depicted.

Under the USSR Constitution, Soviet citizens are guar-
anteed freedom of conscience, "the right to profess or
not to profess any religion", but the following instruction
distorts the spirit and letter of the law:

**"Religious communities and groups of believers belonging
to sects (Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, true
Orthodox Christians, the True Orthodox Church, Advent-
tists, the reformed, Murashkovites and so on) are not
subject to registration."**

For many years this instruction determined the fate of
religious organizations which were not liked. Many peo-
ple lost their rights and were subjected to all sorts of
persecution, from fines to imprisonment.

A corresponding clarification made it incumbent upon
all believers to hold their meetings only with the permis-
sion of the Executive Committees of district or city
Soviets of people's deputies. But that was not all.

**"When applying to hold a meeting, the executive body of
a religious community must indicate the time, place and
expected number of participants, as well as the list of
issues to be discussed."**

Enough. Today such instructions have become invalid.
But it is worth considering how they arose. Apparently,
the authors didn't invent them on their own initiative.
Obediently and with a sense of discipline, they took
account of the turn of events in the early 1960s in the
religious sphere and "big-time politics". It was precisely
then that obstacles emerged to the acceleration brought
about by the 20th CPSU Congress.

It is not simple to reveal their causes or find ways of
overcoming them. It is easier to believe that "regrettable
obstacles" can be avoided. Socialist society is considered
perfect and can therefore quickly overcome and surpass
advanced capitalist countries. The term set aside for this
task is 10-20 years. Anything that prevents success must
be removed resolutely. For example, religious preju-
dices.

The gap between words and deeds sharply widens. The
principle of freedom of conscience is preserved for
external use—it is spoken about at conferences and
international get-togethers. But, inside the country, this
principle was "amended". The right to profess any
religion is protected by the law; the right to profess any
religion is restricted drastically. If religion prevents the
country's progressive movement of the spiritual emanci-
pation of an individual, the believer needs help to
become emancipated. If he doesn't want help then that
requires persistence.

Government and Party functionaries, militiamen,
judges, procurators, school directors and editors of news-
papers were instructed along these lines. It was probably
for this reason that the "closed" instructions of the
Council for Religious Affairs, designed for a limited
number of people, were more influential than open laws.

Religious Registrations for 1988 Listed

18120078b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No
15, 16-23 Apr 89 p 8

[Article: "In Only a Year"]

[Text]—All told, 1,610 religious associations were regis-
tered last year (in the previous year—104), 1,244 of them
were Russian Orthodox communities: 72—Georgian
Orthodox; 71—Roman Catholic; 48—Moslem, and 36—
Christian of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostal).

—Permission was given to build new places of worship: all told, 143 (in the previous year—17); to the Russian Orthodox Church—66; to the Catholic Church—9; to the Moslem religion—12, and to the Christians of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostalists)—16.

—Believers were given 937 deserted religious buildings (in the year before—10); the Russian Orthodox Church—788; the Georgian Orthodox Church—72; the Roman Catholic Church—29, and the Moslem religion—26.

—Functioning in the USSR are 16 theological schools, which have 2,884 students.

—The problems of opening the theological academy of the Georgian Orthodox Church and the theological seminary of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Grodno Region (Byelorussia) have been solved.

—It is planned to open courses for readers in the Russian Federation—in the Smolensk Region, in the Stavropol Territory and in Kolomna (Moscow Region); in Byelorussia—in the Minsk Region; in the Ukraine—in the Chernigov Region.

—It is planned to open two-year courses under the Moslem Administration of the European Part of the USSR and of Siberia—in Ufa, and a Moslem theological school with a 5-year study programme under the Moslem Administration of Transcaucasia—in Baku.

—A public committee for the preservation of Jewish historical monuments and documentary texts has been set up.

—Last year the Russian Orthodox Church was given the monasteries: Kiev-Pechersk (Kiev), of John the Baptist (Ryazan), Nikolo-Vyazhishky (Novgorod) and of Kapriyansky (Moldavia); the question has been decided on giving it several more monasteries—in the Moscow, Chernigov and Ivano-Frankovsk regions.

Religious Officials' Proposals for New Religious Law Published

18120078c Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 16-23 Apr 89 p 8

[Article by Dmitry Radyshevsky: "We Got More Kindness"]

[Text] The renewal of Soviet society has produced appreciable changes in relations between church and state, between believers and non-believers.

We decided to take a look at different religious trends today. A year has passed since Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and members of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. The meeting was beneficial for all religions, for all Soviet

people: the gap between word and deed in the fulfilment of freedom of conscience has been narrowed; the church and the believers have gained new legal rights and the entire society is expressing more kindness and sympathy for its fellow citizens.

What Should the Law be Like?

Until now we have had no law on religious freedom, only separate statutes adopted at different times and often at variance with one another. Work on this law is nearing completion and a draft will soon be ready for nationwide discussion. At the preliminary stage, several conferences have been held to enable lawyers and religious leaders to make their proposals on what the law should be like. Representatives of different religious organizations recently took part in a discussion at the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, presided over by the Council's Chairman Konstantin Kharchev.

The materials of the discussion also include a number of proposals regarding the future law which were previously made in written form by the churches and religious associations active on USSR territory.

Tiran, Bishop of the Moscow Diocese of the Armenian Church:

The bitter memories of the recent Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, based as it was on religious intolerance as well, are still fresh in my mind. I believe that the Law on Religious Freedom must prohibit any abuse of the believers' feelings and the fomenting of hostility between believers and non-believers. Moreover, the law must clearly designate what is meant by this and what penalty is imposed for such actions.

A Possible Paragraph to the Law

Proposal by the Russian Orthodox Church:

"The promulgation of any legislative acts restricting religious freedom and the establishment of any legal advantages of atheism or religion, or of one religion over another, shall be prohibited."

An important question is the economic rights of the Church. The Church must be in a position to run its affairs on a cost-accounting basis. I think that monks and nuns, for example, must be granted an opportunity to work on the land, to bring benefit to themselves and to people.

Did Khambo Lama, Vice-Chairman of the Central Buddhist Religious Board of the USSR:

There is no harmonious personality without spiritual perfection. The Church with its age-old experience in spiritual upbringing could help, especially young people. The youth's spirit is being formed by drug addition, lies and violence. The Church can oppose many modern

vices with love and kindness. But the state must permit it to do this. Parents must have the right to bring up children in a religious spirit and, with this aim in view, to rent special premises. Needless to say, religious education mustn't be exercised to the detriment of secular education. It is not only children who need the former. People with a higher education come to the lamaist datsans in Buryatia—they want access to our philosophy. Yet we are very short of spiritual mentors. I think that it has long been necessary to open a theological school for lamaist clergy. Religious literature is practically nonexistent. We hope that the new law, which we are discussing, will be able to guarantee its publication (with funds, of course, granted by the communities).

And one more thing—the right to international contacts. Buddhism's religious centre is located abroad, but trips by our clergy—for pilgrimage, studies, to attend conferences and seminars—are extremely complicated. In this as well as other questions we Buddhists want to have equal rights with representatives from all other Churches.

A Possible Paragraph to the Law

Proposal by the Russian Orthodox Church:

"Religious organizations are juridical persons, enjoy the rights and perform duties on a par with public organizations, have a bank account and a seal."

There is a need also for the law to clearly designate the limits of the authority enjoyed by the envoys of the Council for Religious Affairs.

Mikhail Kulakov, Chairman of the Russian Federation's Council of the Churches of Seven-Day Adventists:

The law in question is highly relevant for a civilized society. It opens up the possibility for believers and all citizens in the country to develop their personality. The freedom to have and openly voice feelings and beliefs, formalized in the law, maintains a person's self-respect and that for his Motherland. Any infringement and non-recognition of rights have always had an adverse effect on the development of the individual. Thomas Jefferson, this great advocate of religious freedom, used to say that violence in questions of conscience turns half the people into fools and the other half into hypocrites.

A Possible Paragraph to the Law

Proposal by the Russian Federation's Seven-Day Adventists:

"To reserve the right for religious organizations to engage in charitable activities, that is, to perform the service of charity at state-run institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, prisons, and so on."

And, of course, there is a need to return to the principles formulated in the 1918 Constitution, saying that the freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens. Religion is preaching, believers must not hide their desire to disseminate their convictions as though they were immoral.

Vasily Logvinenko, President of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists:

The law must stress the complete equality of believers and atheists. The Church should have all the rights of a juridical person, the right of legislative initiative and the possibility to state its views on all questions bearing on human conscience.

A question which should immediately be solved is that of taxes on clergymen and their pensions. Clergymen pay incomparably higher taxes than ordinary citizens. But they are not entitled either to a state pension or to any other benefits. Priests should be on an equal footing with all other citizens.

A Possible Paragraph to the Law

Proposal by the Muslim Board of the European Part of the USSR and Siberia:

"Citizens and clergymen working in religious organizations on a labour contract shall be appointed pensions on a universal basis in keeping with the legislation in force."

Archbishop Alexander of Dmitrov, rector of the Moscow Theological Academy, chairman of the Learned Council:

I believe that the Church must have a right not only to bring up the youth, but also to educate young people. This was not forbidden even in the past—you are free, we were told, to bring children up in your homes. Education is a definite system, the clergyman must have a permanent place for meeting with children and with all those who would like to add to their knowledge of religion, to learn what it teaches, what it calls for and what it warns man against.

The Church, with its moral-ethical potential, can make its own contribution to the cause of society's renewal and improvement when it has been provided with adequate conditions for this.

A Possible Paragraph to the Law

Proposal by the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians Baptists:

"Religious organizations shall be given the preferential right to use previously confiscated religious buildings and property in relation to other organizations."

Proposal by the Lithuanian Roman-Catholic Episcopate:

"Trade union bodies still refuse to register labour contracts with persons working for the Church, which amounts to ruthless discrimination against organists, bell ringers and others. The law must formalize the right to social security for people in this category too."

Konstantin Kharchev, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers:

The very opportunity to discuss with religious leaders the Law on Religious Freedom is a good omen of the changes that have taken place in our country in recent times.

The following should be seen as the main areas of work on this legislation: believers' full equality with atheists; status of juridical person for the Church; its right to involvement in charitable activities, to give children a religious education and spread its faith. The most important thing, I believe, is the provision of guarantees that legality is observed. I think we need a constitutional body to supervise the observance of the rights of believers and religious organizations.

Peoples' Deputy Metropolitan Aleksi of Church-State Cooperation

18120078d Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 16-23 Apr 89 p 9

[Article: "A Time for Shared Interests"]

[Text]"A mere year ago one couldn't have imagined clergymen becoming people's deputies of the USSR. Many Soviet citizens wonder if this isn't at variance with the decree on the separation of church and state. My answer is: the church has never been separated from society and its destinies. It has shared the country's hardships and has given the people spiritual and material support in times of need. Now we have to join hands to undo the ravages of the past decades," says Metropolitan ALEKSIY of Leningrad and Novgorod, one of the most prominent religious figures, elected people's deputy of the USSR.

The Metropolitan thinks that changes occurring in our life are also changes in the church-state relationship. They have made cooperation possible. This is why his plank as a candidate for people's deputy of the USSR mentioned various state-church social projects. The time for shared interests is now. The aim is not that there should be a state church but that there should be a joint effort to carry through programmes benefiting believers and non-believers.

"Can there be joint projects to restore churches?" The question occurred to me as I was looking out the window at snowbound Leningrad from the Metropolitan's residence. Don't the heavy snows of lost memory cover the city's one hundred churches razed during the 1930s? The militant atheism of the 30s unleashed militant vandalism in later years.

His Eminence told me about veterans of the Pacific Fleet turning to him for help: how could they immortalize the memory of their perished mates? In Leningrad there used to be a Church of the Savior of the Waters, built to remember sailors who perished in the Pacific, and there was a list of their names. When the church was dynamited it made not only a gap in the street but also in people's hearts. There are too many of these gaps and blanks. One such blank is the lost heritage of the Slavic written language and culture which for centuries united the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians. Today people have only a vague idea of it. The same is true of such notions as "charity", "loving your neighbour", which now look like something from an outdated dictionary. People are out of the habit of doing practical good. Now that the above notions are again becoming part of our life, one can see that only a few people are ready to really do something for their neighbour. Only 84 people have volunteered in a huge city like Leningrad for charity work. Not only helping veterans of the Great Patriotic War and those wounded in Afghanistan, but also taking care of the old and the lonely, buying medicine, milk or bread for them.

Can we try and remedy the situation with state-church projects?

"Of course we can. What can the church do today? Realistically, not much. As for restoring churches we can only manage at best twelve in Russia's north-west. As experience has shown, the state can't cope with all the problems. It takes a joint effort," says Metropolitan Aleksi.

One example of such cooperation is Valaam Island, where in 1940 there was a monastery comparable only with the one of Mt. Athos in Greece. But this comparison is rather rough because Athos is blessed with a warm climate and fertile soil, while on Valaam every inch of earth on its rocks was brought from elsewhere by the monks.

According to Metropolitan Aleksi, the latest government decree on Valaam says that there will again be a monastery there. Both secular and church officials are thinking about how to best combine a monastery with an historical landmark. Both the church and the state are interested in solving this unprecedented task. (Incidentally, the Leningrad Metropolitan See has set up what is the first and so far the only church research centre, so as to avoid an unscientific approach to the problem).

But what kind of people are going to live on Valaam? This was an island of land-tilling peasants who worked on the land as much as the soil required, not eight hours under the labour code. Finding such people for the monastery is difficult. "People are terribly estranged from each other today. They live secluded lives. They don't know and don't want to know who their neighbours are. To learn to live together, to work together, to hope and to believe in God is not easy, it takes years before the cogwheels of human characters have meshed, before they have identified common needs with their own."

Has the church encountered new tasks as a result of the changes going on in the country?

"The church has a lot to learn. We can't simply train ministers to conduct services, wedding, christening and funeral rites. Our students should be taught the desire to be socially active. We should fall back on the experience of Christians in the West and in other socialist countries, in particular in the setting up of church-run old people's homes and hospitals. The draft of the new legislation suggests a return to Lenin's idea of teaching children religion on their parents wishes either at home or in the church, and we should prepare our young people for that."

What do you think of the elections?

The Metropolitan said the most gratifying thing was that people were really making choices. This emancipation is in its initial stage, but people are clearly learning the lessons of democracy.

"The church is alive with the light which shines ahead, with the hope for reason, work, faith and patience. We know of numerous people who have gone through the crucible of terrible ordeals in our recent history and have preserved their faith in people, their faith in kindness. The Christian idea has always been optimistic. May it be so ever."

Canadian Dukhobors Attempt to Strengthen Ties With USSR

Writer on Canadian-USSR Dukhobor Relations
18000804 Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian
No 3, Mar 89 p 15

[Interview with Kozma John Tarasoff; time and place not specified; interviewer L. Nemira]

[Text] The Canadian writer and ethnographer, Kuzma Ivanovich Tarasov [Kozma John Tarasoff], was brought to our editorial offices by our article, "How did the purple loosestrife come to be?" He is a descendent of the Dukhobors, who, in the heroic and tragic (for them) year of 1895, burned their weapons as a protest against war and violence and, after harsh persecutions, were forced

to seek refuge in Canada. We asked our guest to tell us about himself, to share his impressions of the life of the Dukhobors in Canada and Transcaucasia.

[[Nemira] Kuzma Ivanovich, you came to the USSR for the first time in 1957 to attend an international festival. What brings you here now, on your eighth visit?

[Tarasov] Along with Vakhit Sharipov, a journalist and film writer from Tataria, I have been negotiating with the "Progress" publishing house about collaboration on a book which will probably be called "Ontario—Tataria: Your Land and Mine." Our idea is to conduct a kind of journalistic investigation: the USSR through the eyes of a Canadian and Canada through the eyes of a Soviet from the "land of perestroyka." Of course, this will not be the easiest task in the world, but we are optimists and full of eagerness to work.

[[Nemira] We know you as the author of several books about the Dukhobors.

[Tarasoff] The first book I wrote about them was 20 years ago—this was the "History of the Dukhobors in Portraits." The second, "The Traditions and Customs of the Dukhobors," was written after my trip to Transcaucasia and the Canadian Dukhobor settlements. There are five books in all. One of them, "Purple Loosestrife," is known to some in your country.

[Sharipov] I can confirm that. Even before I met Kuzma, this book had been given to me by his friend, a professor of sociology and the founder of the international fund "For Peace Through Culture," Pol Weintsveig. In Kazan, where I live, the book was literally read until it fell apart. All kinds of different people had the same warm response to it, and asked how to obtain it and whether it would be published in Russian. Many remarked that what attracts them about the Dukhobors is their spiritual, moral, and physical health, their steadfastness and fidelity to their principles.

[Tarasoff] I think that the basis of this interest lies in the fact that the main Dukhobor tenets are highly resonant with the problems and anxieties of our day. First and foremost, this concerns one of the major commandments, "thou shalt not kill," which the Dukhobors not only proclaimed, but courageously defended, sacrificing everything, their well-being and even their lives.

I would like to note that Dukhoborism was born as a social protest movement. Although the religious and social aspects are closely intertwined, I think that, nevertheless, the primary place belonged to the social. Our ancestors were rebels who refused to reconcile themselves to feudal oppression. It is no accident that many of them were of Cossack origin. There is no written evidence, but the opinion exists that there were followers of [Stenka] Razin and Pugachev among the Dukhobors. It is not only the ideas of universal peace, but the principles

of social equality and protest that have attracted attention to the teachings of the Dukhobors. It was no accident that V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich considered them to be precursors of the working-class revolutionaries. Nor was the police interest in them without foundation.

[[Nemira] Many readers ask what helped the Dukhobors maintain their own way of life.

[Tarasov] I think that it was their principles of collective work, leading to the development of fraternal relationships within Dukhobor communities in Transcaucasia, as well as Canada, which helped them to survive and to find their place in society.

As far as I know, soon after the October revolution, the Dukhobors of Transcaucasia organized communes, instituting collective ownership of livestock, and even of clothing. There is a story that they received a letter from Lenin granting them permission to move to land that was more hospitable and fertile—the lands they used to occupy in Tavria and the Rostov oblast. Some did move, but many remained. And both groups, as you know, inhabit those regions today. But after part of the population left, the communes in Transcaucasia broke up.

[[Nemira] You have had the opportunity to observe the life of the Dukhobors in Canada and Russia, what in your opinion are the similarities and differences between them?

[Tarasov] I can say that both groups try to retain their spiritual and moral principles, ways of life, national traditions and language. The religious side of life is more prominent in the Canadian Dukhobors. Probably, this is a kind of defensive reaction, which reveals their endeavor to retain their Russianness.

December of last year marked the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, which replaced the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood—the former name for the Dukhobor's organization. Not only was the name of the union changed, but also its substance: the material ties began to erode, but the spiritual ones remained. Yet to this day, the Canadian Dukhobors dream of restoring their communal form of life.

The material living standard is higher in Canada. But its cost is great—stressful, frequently exhausting work. Working the land is very difficult for us and not very profitable, and for this reason many move to the cities.

[[Nemira] Kuzma Ivanovich, you and Vakhit are returning to Canada soon, when will you come to Russia, what are your plans?

[Tarasov] When I return home I will begin to organize a trip to the USSR by a group of Dukhobors and scholars. We want to visit the Dukhobor settlements, and in general travel around the country, speaking openly about

all the problems which concern our people today: war and peace, ecology, the role of women in the modern world... For me this trip may possibly will provide material for a new book. In short, I will see you soon!

[[Nemira] I wish you all success and a good journey.

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Canadian Dukhobors To Emigrate to USSR
18000804 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by M. Kurgalina: "Home to Russia"]

[Text] A delegation from the Union of Spiritual Societies in Canada visited Altay. The delegation was looking for a suitable site for the Dukhobors to settle in their homeland, which their forefathers left 90 years ago.

The reason for their emigration is well-known—the schism within the Orthodox Church, after which the Dukhobors dispersed, some going one place, some another. The Russians who settled in Canada did not lose their language, and retained the customs and mores of their people, as well as their love of their fatherland.

"It is drawing us," said the honored chairman of the Union, I. Verigin. "Our grandfathers left it with the idea of inevitable return."

Once in Canada they had to leave the lands which they were accustomed to and which were good for farming, only because otherwise they would have had to accept Canadian allegiance. In the province of British Columbia they has to master trades new to them.

In the last decade the Dukhobors have been worried by the gradual assimilation of their people, the young people's loss of their native language. The Commission on the Future of the Union of Spiritual Societies have been considering the question of whether Russians can continue to exist as curators of their legacy and traditions so far from their homeland? And they came to the conclusion that it was very doubtful. The Union started to seek contacts with the appropriate agencies of the USSR for discussion of the problems of return. And they have been convinced that the current policies of glasnost and democratization in our country would facilitate a positive decision.

Now matters have gotten as far as the selection of a site: hearing about the beautiful natural environment of Altay, rich in mountains and forests, our countrymen sent a representative delegation here. In a discussion with the chairman of the ispolkom of the kray Soviet, A. Kuleshov, it was discovered that their return here from abroad to resettle would be in the interests of both sides. The sparsely populated kray would gain experienced

workers. Their economic activity, for example under conditions of contract work, would allow them to live the way they wish, together, separately, or in several small settlements.

The difference in the standard of living and possible difficulties they may face do not bother them: an excess of material comfort, they believe, weakens the spirit....

Swedish Religious Group to Supply Bibles to USSR

18001070 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 19, 20-26 May 89 p 2

[Text] According to the newspaper DAGENS NYHETER, the Swedish religious organization "The Bible for Everyone" has concluded an agreement with the Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs. According to the agreement, from now to 1995 the organization will supply 12 million Bibles to the Soviet Union.

Until 1988 Bibles were brought into the USSR by individuals. "Now the situation has changed", declared Dzh. Oestbyu, chairman of the Swedish organization.

The religious organizations of northern countries sent the first batch of Bibles, numbering 150,000, to the USSR in November 1988. During 1989 about 1 million Bibles in Russian and Ukrainian will be shipped to the Soviet Union. Various Swedish evangelical organizations have set aside 13 million dollars to implement the program.

Journalists Interview Moscow Seminary Students

18000511 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 3, 16-22 Jan 89 p 16

[Article by Dmitriy Blinov and Vadim Shtepa: "A Seminary—The View From Within"]

[Text] This is a completely different world, a world full of quiet mystery, a world which is delicate but steadfast, and which for a majority of us will remain incomprehensible and inaccessible all our lives. Behind its walls rage a sea of human passions and storms, politics are made, and the stars of human destiny rise and fall—there is "daily life" as we all live it. But they are calm and majestic, they know why they appeared on earth, they say they believe in the Truth... Can many of us say the same?

But let us try, if only for a minute, to shake off the mass of everyday cares and troubles, and especially our prejudices; that is very important right now. We are entering a Moscow religious seminary.

On a narrow path cleared of snow we pass the person on duty, who does not check our passes, taking our word that we are NEDELYA journalists. A wide, massive door

leads to a classroom building. Everything here is unexpectedly ordinary: a stairway, the porter's desk, a calendar on the wall. True, it is a church calendar. A bell rings, the kind that rings in all schools, and throughout the building there is the familiar noise of break time. A bearded middle-aged priest walks by. Students are beginning to leave an auditorium, only they are not silently immersed in themselves, as we had imagined, but, on the contrary, quite lively. And they are talking about very familiar things.

"Listen, have you written the essay?"

"Not yet. I'm going to do it now..."

You cannot tell whether these are senior high school or college students. From the hall they look just like them except for the seminarians' black uniforms, which are buttoned all the way up.

Ten minutes later the bell rings and everything quiets down. Father Vladislav, with whom we had made arrangements in advance, invites us to his lecture on the history of the Russian church. Looking from side to side we slowly go up a staircase, which is closed to people from the outside world, to the third floor. Displayed on the walls are "visual propaganda aids" of a unique kind: religious pictures and photographs of graduates who have already become priests. Auditorium 4B has almost no free seats; the room is small and resembles an ordinary school classroom with the standard desks, a blackboard and historical pictures. But here they do not simply stand up to greet the teacher, they recite a prayer.

The lecture, like a lesson, lasts 45 minutes, but during this time no matter how much we listened or looked, we did not notice a single whisper nor any exchange of glances, something that we have become used to in school classrooms. The lecturer talked about the establishment of the Orthodox Church in Georgia, Armenia and in the Ukraine. To our surprise no one tried to leave immediately after the bell; on the contrary, the seminarians began to put questions to the teacher very actively, and the teacher answered them in great detail.

Young people just like us, healthy and with good color. Students like any others. But what is the secret of their diligence? We began to ask this question of everyone with whom we talked. And this is what we heard.

Mikhail Dudko (fourth year seminarian): "Given that everyone comes here of his own volition, it follows that he himself must strive seriously to acquire knowledge. Of course, we are not supermen; we get tired, sometimes we do not have enough time and then gaps in our knowledge may develop, which we definitely try to fill in."

Mikhail Arterchuk (first year academy student): "We start from the concept of Eternity; we are called upon not only to give people a high moral level, but to lead them to Eternity. While a person in the world knows that what

has been missed can be made up later in life, we cannot permit ourselves such an approach to learning and knowledge. Any omission in our education will have very serious repercussions later on. After all, it is not only religious Christians who go to church but also people who have received an atheistic upbringing; they come worn out by that life which we have begun to talk and write about very openly. We must be able to give all of them that which will help them onto their feet. We must be able to provide a definite religious foundation on which, in the last analysis, everyone must draw. It seems to me that all of our instruction is built on this basis; for this reason it is sinful—even criminal with regard to people—to be hypocritical here. Every pupil must give the best possible accounting of himself."

But who studies in the seminary? What paths lead people here? What kind of intentions and aspirations propel them here? The questions are not idle ones because beyond these walls lies an entire world full of temptations, while here the young people face difficult, morally challenging work every day. To be fair, we should note that after finishing the seminary or the academy (the final exams from the first are simultaneously the entrance exams for the second), the graduates face a life which is adequate in a material sense. But often, you will agree, we are not able to sacrifice even the slightest of our own pleasures for the sake of achieving any kind of greater goal. Even a mercenary one.

Thus the seminary accepts a wide variety of people, who come from all corners of our country. And there are even foreign students, from Greece and Bulgaria, for example. But despite this geographical diversity, one can see a very definite pattern. There is a paradox: one village, Ryazanshchina for example, may send 10 people, and another neighboring oblast the size of France may not have even one person who wants to attend.

"It is all in the religious upbringing which people receive," clarifies Mikhail Dudko, who accompanies us. "If there is a good priest in a small parish, people keep coming and coming from there. And, on the contrary, if the head of the parish has a mechanical attitude toward his work, the parishioners do not develop a desire to devote their lives to the service of God...We used to get people mainly from religious families, but in recent years we have been getting more and more applications from people who have received an atheistic upbringing and who are turning to the Orthodox faith as a result of their life experiences. As everyone knows, in Christianity everything corresponds to the make-up of the human soul, and like is attracted to like..."

What tests does a young person entering the religious seminary have to pass? As strange as it seems, the tests are relatively few—four in all: the ear for music is checked, including the ability to sing at least a little; the knowledge of Old Slavonic is tested, specifically the ability to read certain texts; it is essential to know by heart about 10 prayers, and the literacy of the entrant is

checked by means of an expository writing test. However, passing all these tests successfully does not guarantee entrance into the school. The test results can be poor and still the person becomes a seminarian. And the opposite can also happen. The main criterion in the selection of future priests is the sincerity of their faith. Insincerity in this area is immediately evident.

From the very beginning we were especially interested in the daily life of the seminarians. The daily schedule turns out to be quite heavy: wake up at seven o'clock, then morning prayers, breakfast, and classes until lunch. Two hours of free time until five pm, then preparation for the next day's lessons. This is followed by supper and free time, which is used again for individual study. It takes place mostly in the library, which deserves to be mentioned in more detail.

One of the large rooms contains tables with files of literally all the central newspapers. Several seminarians are leafing through them in an interested way. And there is the latest issue of OGONYEK on the library table, along with recent issues of MOSKOVSKAYA PATRI-ARKHII. A curious mixture! The library subscribes to about 120 periodicals. However, it is mainly church literature which the library keeps. This is not because of any ban on worldly literature—any student is free to read Voltaire, Tolstoy or Lenin, as well as anything else he wishes. There are no "special restricted book collections." Restrictions apply only to the circulation of very old books. However, the students prefer religious literature. As our guide Mikahil explained, this is simply because there is no time for any other literature—the program is so intense...We do not know, maybe the seminarians lose a great deal because of this. But maybe they acquire that which, alas, is not given to the rest of us?

Speaking honestly, we journalists knew very little about the daily life of the seminarians. On the way there we recalled that the dining room is a refectory and the dormitory consists of cells. But our knowledge proved to be inaccurate. The dining room is called a dining room and has tables for four covered with oil cloth; the food is ordinary, filling but lenten (the 40-day Christmas fast was in progress).

The dormitory is also just a dormitory. But not quite. Judge for yourselves: a small room for four, a table, chairs, a carpet runner on the floor. A built-in wall bookcase by the entrance, and an icon in the corner. Nothing extra, surprising cleanliness and order. Instinctively one compares it with ours. A world of difference! There are no cigarette butts (smoking is a great sin), no teapots, tape recorders or other worldly paraphernalia. Everything here is subordinate to one thing and that is study. Diligent study from which nothing must detract.

Lights out is at 11 pm here. For this reason they do not get to see "Vzglyad" (Viewpoint). Many simply do not want to: among the students the television is not held in high regard—it eats up too much valuable time.

Sometimes on Sunday one of the seminarians may allow himself the luxury of going to the city's Mir (World) Cinema. And it sounds like a pun when they say "I am going to the World."

But the world is here—it is you and I. Atheists and believers, with convictions and without. We are used to looking at these people in black with cautious interest at best: "What are they like?" Yes, they are different. Would many of us like to live like that? Hardly...

We rush along in the stream of our worldly problems; we want to live better, and we interpret any self-limitation as an insult. Of course, it would be ridiculous to issue an appeal for everyone to enter the seminary: only those who truly believe will go there. But we who desire to achieve something in the secular world must also follow moral principles, and they are principles to which Christianity has made no small contribution.

The time has come to overcome our own ignorant prejudices against the church and those who serve it, because no matter how difficult or full of conflict our relations with them have been, nonetheless, we have walked together for ten centuries. That must not be forgotten.

Return of Chernigovskiy Monastery to Church Supported

18000960 LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian
3 May 89 p 4

[Letter to the editors from Father-Superior Andronik (Trubachev); A.V. Gulyga, doctor of philosophical sciences; and B.V. Raushenbakh, academician: "On the Fate of the Chernigovskiy Monastery"]

[Text] During this period when we are aspiring to achieve a genuine people's power all of us have the responsibility, not only for the present but also for the future of our country, to care for the heritage which we are leaving to future generations.

In connection with this, let us draw your attention to one of our country's spiritual centers—the Troitsa-Sergiyeva Lavra. As an integrated spiritual organism, the Lavra historically included a whole series of small monasteries, secluded monasteries, and hermitages, which carried out their own spiritual and cultural missions. Such were the Gefsimanskiy, Chernigovskiy, and Vifanskiy monasteries, the Bogolyubskiy Refuge [?], the Zosimova and Paraklitskaya hermitages. At the present time they are all in ruins, occupied by some other institutions, or cast to the whims of fate.

Still the best preserved among the above-indicated dwellings is the Chernigovskiy Monastery, a complex of buildings which were erected at the end of the 19th century by the renowned architect Sultanov. At present this monastery, which is situated almost on the edge of

Zagorsk, has fallen into a lamentable condition. The warehouse of the Zagorsk Gorpromtorg has been placed in the ruined cathedral. Cooking salt is stored like a deposit in the cathedral's lower-level rooms. The cathedral also has a boiler-room, due to which its walls drip with water. The dome is falling into ruins; an entire grove of birch trees is growing on the roof. Those persons who frequently visit this landmark have signed preservation pledges providing for the conduct of restoration work. Over the course of many years, however, not even basic maintenance has been done. The completely unoccupied bell tower is also falling into ruins, as are the monks' buildings, which now belong to the Zagorsk Gorispolkom. The entire monks' cemetery has been profaned, and a layer of dirt has been dumped on it. The Production Bureau for the Preservation and Restoration of Moscow Oblast's Cultural Landmarks has not undertaken any measures to save the Chernigovskiy Monastery from perishing.

A PTU [vocational-technical school]—a boarding-school for disabled adolescents—has been situated in those monastery buildings which are still whole. The fate of these children ought to become our common concern. Because, after all, it is completely obvious that the gloomy scene of a ruined landmark and human neglect has a grave, negative effect on their psychological make-up.

Moreover, the Chernigovskiy Monastery is of great spiritual and cultural importance. It was the center for the Moscow Elders, analogous to the Optima Monastery but also possessing its own unique features. It was here, in a still-preserved wooden cell, that the Elder Varnava (died 1906) followed his vocation. He was no less renowned than the now-generally recognized Amvrosiy of Optima. The Chernigovskiy Monastery was visited on more than one occasion by M.V. Nesterov, P.A. Florenskiy, S.N. Bulgakov, V.A. Kozhevnikov, M.A. Novoselov, and many other figures of Russian culture, whose names are now being revived for the public.

Located in the ruined cemetery are the graves of K.N. Leontyev (died 1891) and V.V. Rozanov (died 1919), renowned Russian philosophers and publicists.

In our view, the only way to save this site of spiritual culture is to turn the entire complex of the Chernigovskiy Monastery over to the Russian Orthodox Church as the original founder and owner of the Troitsa-Sergeyeva Lavra. Thereby, not only would a genuine solution be found for the restoration-preservation, financial, and departmental problems, but the historic ties between the Lavra and the monastery would be restored.

We would likewise regard the positive solution of this problem as a further step along the path of normalizing relations between Church and State, fully satisfying the needs of our country's religious believers, and restoring historical equity.

Soviet View of Culture Lacks Basic Philosophical Principles

18000867 Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 14, 7 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Kapustin, professor of the Department of Mass Media of the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of the Social Sciences, conducted by Aleksandr Shakhmatov, under the rubric "Timely Interview": "Single-Hemisphere Thinking"]

[Text] [Shakhmatov] We know, Mikhail Pavlovich, that you have been dealing with both the theoretical and historical aspects of a very complex and interesting topic, "Politics and Culture and Their Interaction and Interpenetration." What currently relevant problem in this topic presently concerns you most?

[Kapustin] So-called "single-hemisphere thinking," what it is, how people have come to it, and how to be freed of it. Let me explain with an example.

There is a rare type of brain disease that results in one of the two hemispheres being completely shut off. A person continues to live and work, have offspring, and read books. The remaining hemisphere gradually assumes, to some degree, the functions of the lost hemisphere, but of course, it is incapable of replacing it completely. In such a case, the person's perception of the world is severely distorted. The result of analyzing this clinical practice was the discovery of the functional asymmetry of the brain.

I think this concept can be applied as a kind of graphic model to culture. Figuratively speaking, the "brain" of culture is also characterized by functional asymmetry, which can even be explained from the standpoint of physics and its law of the principle of complementarity.

From my viewpoint, for normal way of life it is necessary for the *material* to be complemented by the *ideal*, for *thought* to be complemented by *beliefs*, for the *spiritual* to be complemented by the *psychological*, for the *rational* to be complemented by the *irrational*, and so forth.

If one of these two series turns out for some reason or other not to be functioning, such a culture is stricken by a grave illness. For the patient himself, this may not be noticeable. He may discover it only in comparing himself to the world of a different, normal and full-fledged culture.

[Shakhmatov] You mean that this has direct bearing on the fate of our present-day society's culture?

[Kapustin] Precisely! We remember very well how V. I. Lenin stressed that the entire history of human thought represents a struggle between materialism and idealism, between the lines of Democritus and Plato.

In order to understand the essence of our country's present culture one must compare it to the Russian culture of the previous century. For comparison, let us take one sphere, for example, that of thought in social philosophy. In it two main lines manifest themselves, which might be called the "revolutionary idea" and the "religious idea."

This is the third generation now that our entire society has been brought up from school age on the first idea only, that is, from Radishchev and the Decembrists through Herzen and the Revolutionary Democrats to Marxism-Leninism. The second idea, which is represented by figures from Chaadayev and the Slavophiles through V. I. Solovyev to Shestov, Berdyayev and Florenskiy, has either been kept quiet or discarded, or criticized in a crude and primitive fashion.

Foreseeing their superfluity in the culture of the new society, the representatives of the "second series," the adherents of the "religious idea," for the most part emigrated. Such thinkers and writers as Dmitriy Merezhkovskiy and Ivan Bunin left the fatherland under compulsion. And others, such as the philosopher Nikolay Berdyayev and the sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, were forcibly exiled. Incidentally, many emigres became leading lights in their fields in the West: Berdyayev, for example, in the philosophy of personalism, and Sorokin in the philosophy and sociology of culture.

On the other hand, those thinkers of the "second series" who remained were subjected to persecution, as was Pavel Florenskiy, or were sent into lifetime exile, as was Mikhail Bakhtin. And I am not even mentioning the numerous religious thinkers whose fates were as tragic as they were unknown to the public at large.

[Shakhmatov] If the culture of the "second series" was degraded and forced out, what was put in its place?

[Kapustin] Culture was trod on with the "iron heel" of a politics that attempted to ideologize everything. Even the most refined forms of art—painting and music—were subjected to this. But it began with philosophy, which, in Hegel's expression, is the apex of the pyramid of all the disciplines.

In 1931 I. V. Stalin, in a discussion with the heads of the Institute of the Red Professors, directly combined politics with philosophy, calling representatives of the school of Abram Deborin, which defined Soviet philosophy at that time, "Menshevik idealism." From the standpoint of logic, that was a verbal centaur, a combination of disparate parts. But alas, those parts are combined in the system of "single-hemisphere thinking," which is what proceeded to develop, crowding out or physically exterminating the representatives of the "second series."

Almost all the "Mensheviks" were repressed, with the exception of Deborin himself, who lived daily in the expectation of arrest during the era of the cult.

Understandably, many people at that time were forced to remain silent or write "for the desk," as Bulgakov and Platonov did, or to adapt. To paraphrase Stalin's formula, one can call the type of "single-hemisphere thinking" that established itself at that time *Bolshevist materialism*. And that is our philosophy, which was taught in all the country's higher schools until restructuring.

[Shakhmatov] One "vivid" manifestation of "single-hemisphere thinking" is the substantiation of the method of socialist realism, which for many years reigned supreme in Soviet literature.

[Kapustin] I agree with you. It seems that to this day we do not know who first used that term "socialist realism," but now many people have learned who its first theoretician was. It was Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin, who set forth the basic propositions of the theory of socialist realism in his report at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934.

I have great respect for the character and work of N. I. Bukharin, and during the celebration of his 100th birthday I published a number of articles about him in our press. He was indisputably a highly educated and cultured person. But...

Plato believed that power and philosophy are incompatible in one and the same person. Probably the sole exception to this in the West was the emperor Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic philosopher. But it was with good reason that Hegel noted that that philosophizing emperor failed to change the state of the Roman empire. Evidently, when Marcus Aurelius ruled he "turned off" the philosopher in himself.

And what about Bukharin? He was the product of his time, and in implementing cultural policy he shared the general tendency and strove to "turn off" "second-series" thinking in himself. At the same time, in his purely literary articles on Goethe, Heine and Bryusov, Bukharin remains a subtle and profound analyst. But when he writes other articles—about Yeseninism, for example—as an ideologist rather than an aesthetician, he becomes that person of "single-hemisphere thinking" we have been talking about. In this incarnation he even reproaches the profound lyric poet-philosopher Tyutchev for his famous lines: "Russia cannot be understood with the mind...Russia can only be believed in." "What do you mean cannot be understood 'with the mind'? What with, then?" asks "single-hemisphere thinking" indignantly, not wanting to know about such great "supplements" to rationalism as intuition, insight and belief.

Take a closer look at the very term "socialist realism." After all, it is the direct analogue to Bolshevist materialism, since it represents the combination of a political concept with an aesthetic concept. It is no accident that that same Bukharin report mentions "bourgeois realism" in the West.

[Shakhmatov] One could probably also say that "single-hemisphere thinking," unfortunately, gradually became part of our flesh and blood, no matter how distressing and painful this may now be.

[Kapustin] Alas, that is the terrible truth. The further things went, the more overly ideologized literature developed and thickened. And art and the sciences followed. Even genetics and cybernetics, which have nothing whatsoever to do with politics, were subjected to this.

The system of "single-hemisphere thinking" was introduced into every field of school and higher-school education, and into the all-encompassing sphere of agitation and propaganda. Consequently, people grew accustomed to looking at the world in precisely the way that was instilled in them. All that, it turns out, was concealed for so many years behind the concept of the "new man."

Incidentally, the founder of Leninism noted that idealism is pure nonsense only from the viewpoint of a crude, "foolish" materialism. And for the "new man" idealism, religion, mysticism, the irrational, God, the soul, and so forth were considered pure nonsense.

It is striking, but a fact, that either no books at all were published in our country about these extremely important concepts, which have been the object of the reflections of the most intelligent people of all times and all peoples, or the sort of books were published that would have been better off not being. Only in the most recent times have solid works about these matters started to be published. I would like to note here books by the Sverdlovsk scholar L. N. Kogan, "Smysl zhizn" [The Meaning of Life] and "Chelovek i ego sudba" [Man and His Destiny], as well as two articles on the soul by the psychologist Academician P. V. Simonov in the magazines PRIRODA and NAUKA I ZHIZN.

I myself wrote an article titled "The Human Soul" two years ago. At the time I submitted it to the magazine NAUKA I RELIGIYA, where it has been "safely" lying unpublished to this day.

[Shakhmatov] What has restructuring brought for the "new man"?

[Kapustin] A break with the system of "single-hemisphere thinking." I think that the new political thinking that shook the world—if not over 10 days, then over three years—is breaking up that system. The horizons have expanded. We have begun to recognize the "second series" in our country's culture and to treat religion and various philosophical schools (by my count, there are more than 30) of present-day world thought with respect. It is my belief that one of the first steps in the break with the flawed system was the development of a cultured attitude toward religion and a "religious" attitude toward culture.

I do not doubt that the result of this beneficial process will be the discovery, after the values of the spirit, the soul, faith and the irrational, those phenomena themselves. That will mark our return to normal human thinking and to the universal human morality whose loss the writer Boris Vasilyev spoke of with such pain and alarm in his essays, "Love Russia in Bad Weather," which were just recently published in the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

[Shakhmatov] All these problems are disclosed in one way or another in your book "O proshlom—radi budushchego" [About the Past—for the Sake of the Future], which, as KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE related in Issue No. 38 for 1988, you submitted to Politizdat. What has its fate been?

[Kapustin] Alas, the same fate as the article "The Human Soul." This is more than a year now that it has sat without moving.

[Shakhmatov] ?!

[Kapustin] The first and last book I published was in 1978. I recall this now only because I was the only author who dared use the term "universal human" [obshchchelovecheskoye] in a book title. The book's title was "Dialektika natsionalnogo i obshchchelovecheskogo v khudozhestvennoy kulture Sovetskogo Vostoka" [The Dialectics of National and the Universal Human Elements in the Culture of the Soviet East]. Its fate was not a happy one: the Fan scientific izdatelstvo in Tashkent suffered, and for two years the author was called "on the carpet" to various offices, up to and including the republic Communist Party Central Committee.

After that sad case I did not have a book or even an article accepted for publication for nearly 10 years. The editors of publishing houses, especially the main ones, did not like my "non-single-hemisphere thinking." On the other hand, in the past two years 12 long articles of mine have been published, and some of them have won prizes for the year (in the magazines OKTYABR and LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE, and the newspapers SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and NEDEL'YA).

[Shakhmatov] What are your creative plans?

[Kapustin] I am working simultaneously on two books. One of them is "Chelovek kak tvoreniye" [Man as Creation]. It is a first experiment with a synthetic approach that combines philosophical and psychological analysis with artistic cognition.

The second book has the title "Kultura: sushchnost, teoriya i istoriya" [Culture: Essence, Theory and History], which promises a great deal. It attempts to fill the vacuums that are apparent in the theory and history of socialist art and literature.

And finally: I have been informed by VAAP that the well-known Italian publishing house Feltrinelli, which once created a sensation with its publication of Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" in Russian, has now undertaken to prepare a collection of public-affairs articles about restructuring by Soviet scholars and journalists. It will include my work, "The Legacy We are Rejecting," which shows how we are trying to overcome Stalinism and "single-hemisphere thinking," and how we are arriving at glasnost, democracy and the pluralism of views.

Academician Likhachev on Survivals of Stalinism
18000641 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 pp 2-3

[Interview with Academician D.S. Likhachev by Correspondents I. Sidorov and T. Chesanova under the rubric "Straight Talk": "Nevertheless, Good Will Triumph"]

[Text] "The most popular Leningrad citizen of the year," our readers named academician D.S. Likhachev on the eve of the New Year Holidays. The days of the academician are filled with concerns. In early January he traveled to Moscow to take part in a meeting of the creative intelligentsia with M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Today's talk deals with this and much more.

Lessons of SLON

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Sergeyevich, we should like to begin the discussion with a rather unusual statement by you. In one of your films you spoke of being grateful to fate for the fact that it threw you to the very bottom of life and raised you up. Is it possible to be grateful to fate for the trials you were subjected to when—through no fault of your own—you became a prisoner at the Solovetskiy Camp for Special Offenses [Solovetskiy lager osobogo naznacheniya] or SLON as it was called for short?

[D.S. Likhachev] What I said referred only to me. I came to the Solovki islands without a wife and children, so I could not be a source of grief for my family. Of course, my parents were still alive, and I worried about how they would get on without me.

On the Solovki I came to know people of a kind that I would never have come in contact with under any other conditions. I made up a list—there were 400 families on it. And what people they were! By being acquainted with influential people it was possible to get out of the situation I found myself in. But I did not try to, and I was drawn to my fellow camp inmates, whose minds and hearts held my interest.

I think on the Solovki I completed a sort of second university. I was in the same cell with Alexandr Petrovich Sukhov, a teaching institute professor, and we worked together in criminology. He gave a great deal to

me as a psychologist. I remember with gratitude Alexander Alexandrovich Meyer, an author of many books, whose archives are now in the Leningrad Library.

Yuliya Nikolayevna Danzas was there. She was the granddaughter of Pushkin's second, who had been in the past a maid of honor [stats-freylina], a Urals Kazak with a doctorate from the Sorbonne, and a secretary of Gorkiy. This lady gave me a wealth of interesting background about her life.

Not only the inner life of the Solovki was revealed to me but the whole of pre-revolutionary Russia and the Silver Age of its culture. My English teacher, for example, was Igor Yevgenyevich Anichkov, whose home Blok once visited. So Blok became, as it were, my contemporary!

I came to know a broad range of people of diverse backgrounds and experience. There were people from the Caucasus. There were Chinese. There was even a Japanese samurai. He washed our laundry, but did not consider it beneath him to do manual labor. The best singer in Staraya Bukhara was there, a handsome old man, who was exiled on the Solovki even though he did not know a word of Russian. His life was saved by Taybalin, a former nobleman, who worked as an orderly, and who managed to get himself stationed in the hospital where this singer from Bukhara was. In this way, he saved him.

[Correspondent] That is, there were people to be found even in this hell who created around them little spheres of the good—people who helped, and cared for, and tried to save others.

[D.S. Likhachev] People cannot do otherwise! Boris Glubokovskiy, a former actor in the Tairovskiy Theater, established a theater on the island with a troupe of prisoners. A printing press had been left by the monks on the Solovki—a journal, SOLOVETSKIY ISLANDS, was started. At that time I was in the same cell with a fine poet, Vladimir Kemetskiy. His work was printed in the journal, and now we intend to have his poetry published. We managed to set up a work camp for juveniles where youths might learn a trade. True, 80 percent of them were not rehabilitated, but that is not the point. Human life represents, all the same, an absolute value. And if one person can be saved from death, that is a fine thing. Many of the kids lived in trenches covered with pine boughs, and when the snow began to thaw and the water seeped through, it was dreadful. But no matter how many criminals, thieves, and drug addicts there were, they were all nonetheless children, and not a few among them who were ordinary, normal young fellows sent here by a whim of fate. One wanted to extend a helping hand to each one of them.

[Correspondent] When you left the islands, you found yourself in an immense concentration camp—that is what the country had become by that time. This principle of creating a little island of the good: Did you put it to use in your "free" life?

[D.S. Likhachev] I looked about for a kind of work that would not require any speaking-out, so that I might remain as I was without making any moral concessions. I became a proofreader in a publishing house of the Academy of Sciences. I would sit there the entire day without stretching my back or raising my eyes. This, under these conditions, was my sole salvation! The country had been hit by the virus of informing on others, causing an outbreak of hysterical denunciation. Everyone wanted to prove his devotion to Soviet power and did so by demonstrating "vigilance." So it was necessary to say nothing; for every utterance could be twisted and distorted. Moreover, I was an ex-convict. Behind my back they would watch if I looked up at the portrait of Comrade Stalin. People knew, they perceived, that Stalin was a dreadful evil, and each sought his salvation in his own way.

Once Again About Stalinism

[Correspondent] But why is it, Dmitriy Sergeyevich, that so many people are convinced that life under Stalin was better and brighter? That there was more order and justice? Where does this nostalgia for a time of terror come from? This, too, calls for a thorough explanation, for we must come to understand it.

[D.S. Likhachev] Here there is an unbroken chain of circumstances. The absence of law and civil institutions, together with a cult of arbitrary and autocratic decision-making, led to the point when power was corrupted. It became necessary to demonstrate and display this power. The leaders, when they resorted to condemnation or the destruction of large numbers of people, rejoiced, taking this as proof of their vigilance and iron resolve. But this diabolical strain in the morality of those on top led to dreadful changes in the morality of those on the bottom. People were delighted with arrests because they opened up the way to service advancement! A person who was morally weak was inclined to succumb to the demonic temptations of the Stalinist regime: joy in arrests, advancement in service, receiving extra living space and perquisites. Stalinism placed people under conditions in which a part of them were forced to live at the expense of another part, which was being deprived and reduced physically. Of course, not everyone came to this point.

There were many people among us of the type of Zubr. I only wish that Granin has written about him as an exception. Not everyone, of course, encounters such trials in life. In this respect Zubr is perhaps unique. But I am referring now to his moral fortitude. There were many such people. They were, as a rule, people of passionate temperaments, but not very practical about day-to-day matters. Yet this very lack of practicality in life often was transformed into moral intransigence. Of course, they were not looking for ways to assert themselves, or to get rich, or to advance in service; they were

simply passionately committed to something, and it endowed them with moral force. Otherwise, where would they draw it from at such a time?

[Correspondent] And now we come to a question which excites literally everyone these days, and one which divides people. We continue to become more profoundly aware of the dreadful role of Stalinism in destroying public morale. Yet at the same time more and more frequently one hears, "That's enough about Stalin! There is no point in dishonoring the name of the dead. What do you think about this?"

[D.S. Likhachev] Stalinism constitutes a colossal lesson of importance not only to the readers of OGONEK, as they say, but to the whole of mankind. Even today, in other countries, little Stalins strive for power. The enduring lesson lies in the fact that, in addition to the millions that were shot or left to rot in prisons, there were tens of millions destroyed in mind and spirit, and this wound is yet to heal.

[Correspondent] The thought is often expressed today that justice requires that the butchers who destroyed the people be identified by name. How do you feel about this?

[D.S. Likhachev] I would be for naming names, except that when I was making a film about the Solovki, the writers, Chukovskiy and Goldovskaya, started looking around for other people who had stayed in this camp. And they found a butcher that I remembered very well. But his wife asked us not to mention him by name in the film—for the sake of the children, and grandchildren, who did not know anything about this and were in no way guilty.

We decided not to name this executioner. In the first place, what sort of proof was there? Yes, I saw him, picking up his feet as he waded in blood up to the boot-tops. But where were the documents to prove it? And in the second place, truly, what were the children and grandchildren guilty of?

I am tormented by the thought that compensatory justice is necessary, but the execution of it must not degenerate into a witch-hunt and vengeance, or else we, too, will become informers, and everything will be repeated once again. Let history alone be the judge.

Too Much Black?

[Correspondent] We hear voices raised in opposition, who say: "Enough blackening of our past!"

[D.S. Likhachev] If we take this attitude, then the entire works of Saltykov-Shchedrin should be banned. He wrote, of course, not to blacken things, but because he had shining ideals out of loyalty to which he despised the grievous reality of tsarist times. So it is with us. If people write of the crimes of Stalin and his henchmen, such as

Beriya and the rest, without any thought of ideal justice, then indeed it is no more than blackening they do. But these people are writing of all that must be opposed in the name of socialism; that is, of all that is real as opposed to the false ideals towards which Stalin was leading us. There are traces of Stalinism still active in our psychological make-up—in the way we conduct ourselves and give orders.

If one writes for the purpose of exposing our people to ridicule, maintaining, let us say, that they have always been a race of slaves of inherently submissive subservience, this is repugnant, and we must combat it. There is much that we still do not realize about the courageous conduct of thousands and thousands of people, and if we write so that justice may triumph, and a truly humane law and order may be established, then we must press on with this effort.

Why do some people even now say that they approve of Stalin? Why in those days did they shout their allegiance at investigations? Why did they brand his portrait on their chests or tattoo the words "Long live Stalin"? Because to live a double life is unbearable.

We would sit in the great hall of the printing-house, and when a couple of men entered and led someone away, we knew what it meant—that we would never see that person again. And all who were left felt guilty!

If in one's quarters somebody were arrested, leaving behind a mother and young children, then it would be necessary to put them out of one's mind. To be concerned was to be guilty. So that people necessarily were divided into two groups. Either they were among those who were entirely submissive, in which case they were devoid of morality; or they were among those who refused to submit to this moral outrage, no matter what happened.

[Correspondent] It sometimes happens that a fanatical fidelity to Stalin provides a means of ridding one's self of guilt!

[D.S. Likhachev] Yes, and for all that it is without morality. Once a female proofreader showed up. Overnight they arrested a number of people, simply by going down a list. She saw the empty office, understood everything, and remarked; "If tomorrow I go past St. Isaak's Cathedral and find it missing, I will act as if things had always been that way."

Fear, along with an absence of a sense of honor, of intrinsic worth, of conscience, and public abuse—these are the worst features of Stalinism, which it necessary to overcome. And we can only overcome them by explaining how it was they came about. This gigantic effort goes on. And in order to recount everything, it is not only the work of the newspapers and journals. It is the work of many generations of people.

Lying led to all this. Lying does not mean simply saying, "I love Stalin." Lying is not seeing what is going on around one. All our editors in the publishing house were arrested, and the work had to come to a halt. The people behaved as if everything were normal, and they were upset only that the next galley was not given to them, although there was no one to edit them.

So I cannot bear to hear people say we believed Stalin was a god on earth. He was nothing of the sort, and nobody believed it, either at the top or the bottom. Everybody saw what was going on. But everybody was shaking with fear. You remember in Bulgakov's "Master and Margarita" when Jesus was asked (not according to the New Testament, of course) what was the greatest sin on earth, he said, "Fear." No one can claim therefore that he has managed to live blamelessly or without sin, nor can I.

[Correspondent] Yet nowadays, it seems, people are no longer afraid to criticize one another, and they engage in it a great deal, using, I regret to say, Stalinist tactics. They see in their opponents evil schemers, and they are ready to anathematize and brand them as "enemies of the people." Intolerance is also a heritage of Stalinism.

[D.S. Likhachev] Yes, we have become accustomed to blaming and hating people who express opinions or views different from our own and who see in each dissenter an enemy of the regime.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who met recently with a group of intellectuals, talked a good deal about the necessity of being more tolerant and treating the opinions of others with respect. The discussion was extremely open. No one hesitated to speak his innermost thoughts. What is Mikhail Sergeyevich urging us to do? To put an end to clannishness and petty squabbles among the intelligentsia and unite in the work of perestroika.

[Correspondent] But despite the appeals of the General Secretary, instances of intolerance are on the increase. Take the recent letter to PRAVDA containing accusations against OGONEK. What did you think of it all?

[D.S. Likhachev] As far as the letter in itself goes, I read it with a sense of horror. And there is one thing I cannot comprehend. OGONEK is accused of verbally tarnishing the reputation of the writer Yuriy Bondarev, and yet the accusation is made without submitting any proof whatever. OGONEK, allegedly, is engaged in counter-revolutionary propaganda; it is a journal that is, in effect, hostile to us. That, at any rate, is what the accusation boils down to. To utter controversial criticism is one thing—it is glasnost. But to stir up an atmosphere of hatred and intolerance with and unwillingness to listen to an opponent...

[Correspondent] And what if everyone becomes so intolerant? Are we not doomed to violence—one against another? Why should such an obvious notion as mutual respect make its way into our lives with so much difficulty?

[D.S. Likhachev] Obviously, more that a single generation will pass before we rid ourselves of Stalinism. Rapid changes in the moral regeneration of people are not possible. The healing process lies in upbringing of a different kind. We must raise our children from infancy in an altogether different way. That is where our future lies.

Our Hope

Young fellows from a neighboring elementary school used to come to see me with their marvelous teacher to visit when I was sick or to celebrate New Year's Day, for example. Once they even brought me an immense loaf of bread—where they found such a loaf, I don't know. These delightful young people had set up their own society called "Hearth of the Fatherland," so on the next day I, too, sent them a gift: a collection of books with which they could learn about the history of the fatherland and familiar themselves not only with its smoking hearth but its flaming spirit.

That is why it is so important now to devise teaching programs in which more attention is given to the humanities, and to the study of art and literature. We still have survivals of Stalinism, but we also have the greatness of Russian literature, in which moral problems play a dominant role. In no other literature in the world are moral problems to be found such as are presented in Russian literature.

Teaching modern technology in school is often absurd; for while it is studied, it becomes obsolete. This means that what is needed is to instill human capabilities for new technology and everything else that is new. It is necessary to develop in a person general intelligence through a knowledge of basic disciplines, such as mathematics, logic, and literature. Then the person can take up whatever he wants. With the disappearance of the humanities, there is a loss of ethics and moral fiber. We need, above all, to raise young people of high moral principles who can work at a variety of specialties.

We need to instill at an early age respect for people of different opinions and beliefs. We are all for genuine socialism. But each person must have his own particular differences. And we must grant each person the right to think in his own way. Ultimately, we all want the good to win out in the future.

[Correspondent] Otherwise, enmity, exchanging accusations, and a regression to Stalinism is unavoidable.

[D.S. Likhachev] Of course. Why are problems of nationality arising at this time? Because of a need to explain why the views of other people are hostile. Whereas previously a class basis was sought for identifying "enemies of the people," now the search continues on the grounds of nationalism. For example, what views may be recognized as hostile to the Russian people, or the Armenians and Georgians and the like. These are all survivals of Stalinism.

Spiritual Revival

[Correspondent] Obviously, the level of tolerance in a society is closely related to its level of culture. We have always been proud of the culture of Leningrad citizens. But now it, too, has fallen off. Why do you suppose this is?

[D.S. Likhachev] Indeed, Leningrad is becoming a provincial city, and this process has been under way for a long time. The fluctuations of intellectual currents in Moscow have played a part, as has the fact that during the years of the cult of personality and stagnation many kinds of cultural societies, circles, clubs and regular meetings were eliminated. Accusations of "a mania for meetings," which are heard to this day, are, alas, nothing new. The sources of intellectual and spiritual life were suppressed, and this cannot but have an effect.

One of the most vital tasks today therefore is to revive intellectual and cultural life in our city and give it a different spirit. We must see to it that the branch of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad ceases to be an association of technocrats and stirs widespread public interest by means of public lectures and debates on the most fundamental and timely intellectual issues.

Previously, how many little theaters there were in Leningrad, which served to unite the people, making it possible to share with those on stage and in attendance the intimacy of the hall, and becoming an integral part of their lives. In a big theater, this is scarcely possible.

Our Cultural Foundation also has a major role to play in reviving the cultural life of our citizens. We welcome the appearance of various societies and clubs made up of different interest groups and the friends of our excellent museums. For example, the museum of Anna Akhmatova has not yet opened, but how such a club of friends could be of help in supporting it.

The appearance of the city—dirty and disheveled—is also a source of dismay. We have, of course, quite a number of venerable and palatial public places, but they are often rented to transient organizations that care not a whit for protecting the appearance of the buildings or for preserving their beauty. We must give them back to the citizens of Leningrad. We must kindle the flame of the people's spiritual existence.

It is, however, extremely difficult for us to rid ourselves of a lack of initiative, indifference, and a passive attitude of waiting on orders from above. Man, of course, needs not only physical but spiritual energy, and one wants now to believe that it, too, will be revived in us. Meanwhile, Stalinism will continue to exert itself for a long time to come. Nonetheless, the good will triumph. Having managed to make our way out of the periods of the cult and stagnation, there are grounds today to hope for the best.

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Sergeyevich, you are an optimist!

[D.S. Likhachev] Yes. Still, that is life. Eventually, the good triumphs. Not rapidly, it is true—and not right away. But I believe in the good, in good relations, and in their ultimate victory.

'Conflict-Free' Literature Of Stalin Period Highlighted

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[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 15 January 1989 carries on pp 3, 4 a 3100 word interview with the playwright Ilyas Afandiyev on the impact of the "repressions" extending from 1937 to 1956 on literature and the fine arts. "With the exception of some works written on the subject of war, it is extremely difficult to find new, productive and objective ideas and concepts in many literary or historical works written in this twenty year period." He adds that "at this time the fact that a 'conflict-free theory' found its way into literature, especially dramaturgy was the result of fear of the truth. This was a consequence of the artificiality, fabrications and time-serving which surfaced in literature and the fine arts about Stalinism. Adherents of this theory claimed that there were no contradictions in modern life or societal relations." He points out that there were a number of themes proscribed in literature, one of which was the "fragmentation" of Azerbaijan into two parts and the "longing of brother for brother."

Sergey Khrushchev Preparing Father's Memoirs for Publication

18000866 Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 15, 14 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Technical Sciences Sergey Khrushchev, deputy general director of the Moscow Elektronmash Research and Production Association, conducted by A. Shakhmatov, under the rubric "Time and Destinies": "I Am Working on my Father's Memoirs"]

[Text] [Shakhmatov] A good many items about N. S. Khrushchev and his policies have been published in newspapers and magazines. Politizdat has recently published the collection "Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. Materialy k biografii" [Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev: Materials for a Biography], which, incidentally, includes

your journals, "Union-Status Pensioner," which had previously come out in OGONEK. Fedor Burlatskiy is writing a public-affairs essay titled "Khrushchev: a Political and Psychological Portrait." The magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV plans to publish Roy Medvedev's popular book "Khrushchev." To what, in your view, is the heightened interest in your father's personality and work due?

[Khrushchev] It can be attributed to a number of reasons, but the main one is that today we have restructuring, the next step in our country's development in political, economic, social, and cultural respects. It is natural that we compare what is going on to what happened previously. We are attempting to evaluate the events and facts of our country's history, to utilize everything of value from the past, and to draw conclusions from mistakes in order not to repeat them.

The ten years that Nikita Sergeyevich was leader and the present time are periods characterized by sharp, radical changes in Soviet society. Restructuring is not some sort of one-time action, but a desire to change our entire life. And therefore we are especially interested in the positive experience that was gained in 1953-1964, and in the reasons that brought the forward progress in the country to a halt.

All that is the primary thing. And the rest is that for two decades the name Khrushchev was practically not mentioned, and people are showing a purely human desire to know more about him and what he did. But that, in my view, is secondary.

[Shakhmatov] It should probably be mentioned, Sergey Nikitich, that the changes after 1953 and those of our time have both common features and fundamental differences.

[Khrushchev] That goes without saying. Take, for example, economics. Many economists state, and not without reason, that that period represented an attempt to solve urgent problems in a deterministic way, that is, with the use of administrative methods. It was believed that all it took was to adopt the correct decree, and industry and agriculture would do what was necessary, and then everyone would receive what he needed.

The arrangement within which Khrushchev intended to find the solution to economic problems looks that primitive. In the latter period he came to realize that the arrangement was not working, and he started to turn to the ideas of the Kharkov economist Liberman and the Yugoslavian experience. But by then he was unable to do anything: the administrative-command system prevented it.

And today, in the time of restructuring, the question of changing over to new conditions of economic management was immediately raised and is being resolved. Cost

accounting, self-financing and cost recovery are being introduced at enterprises. There are laws on leasing and cooperatives. This is the next step in our development. We are moving forward.

And if you compare glasnost then and now, it must be noted that, while the glasnost of the 1950s may be considered inadequate, it represented a huge step forward compared to Stalinist times. Now glasnost is deeper and more multifaceted.

Let's take a look from a different point of view at Khrushchev's disputes with cultural figures, including the dispute at the Manezh, which many people have criticized. I do not justify his behavior, but no one keeps us from reflecting on whether such disputes could have existed in the 1930s and 1940s. They did not exist at all then, since the representatives of previous generations of the artistic intelligentsia had been "reeducated" in the camps.

All this must be looked at in its dynamic context. What happened in one era could not have existed in another. Such is dialectics.

[Shakhmatov] In your journals you write about how your father was "done in" and removed from power. But aren't you working on your memoirs about Stalinist times and about Khrushchev's activities after March 1953, his successes and miscalculations during the decade in which he was in power?

[Khrushchev] I will say right off that what has been published is one chapter from my documentary narrative "Pensioner soyuznogo znacheniya" [Union-Status Pensioner], which I recently finished and which, from every indication, will be published by the Kniga Izdatel'stvo. It was fairly easy to work on it, since I had kept detailed notes about the times following 14 October 1964.

I have an idea for a new book, in which I would like to recall other periods of my father's activity, but I will have to find the time for that. I won't say specifically what it will be about, in order not to jinx it. But I will note that I will not write about Stalinist times, since because of my youth I was not actively involved in those years. Those times are fairly fully described in Nikita Sergeyevich's memoirs. It is better to read them than my retelling.

[Shakhmatov] Sergey Nikitich, we have come to the main question that our readers often ask in their letters and that brought me as a KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE correspondent to see you. It would be interesting to know: aren't you preparing the memoirs for publication?

[Khrushchev] Yes, I'm working on my father's memoirs. While in retirement, Nikita Sergeyevich dictated extensive material. Incidentally, let me note that, in general, he usually worked on his articles and speeches himself, in contrast to other Soviet and foreign public figures.

People did not write for him. He usually dictated to two stenographers. After the text with his notations was transcribed, it was turned over to aides, who then polished it.

So, three of us worked on the memoirs. Father spoke into a tape recorder, recalling various episodes of his life. Then our trusted Leonora Nikiforovna Finogenova—I especially ask that she be mentioned—typed out the memoirs on a typewriter. And then I started to edit them. You journalists know what a difficult job that is—to translate oral speech into written: you have to know how to construct a sentence, remove repetitions, and think through the composition anew.

Unfortunately, we did not manage to compete this work. Nikita Sergeyevich did not even have time to dictate everything. Only a part of the tape recordings have been processed. Now the processing is being completed. When the work is completed and, I hope, published, we will get interesting factual material that will provide answers to many questions that concern not just historians but a wide range of readers. And the material is extremely extensive—about 5,000 pages of text, without repetitions.

I will not deal here with the foreign publication of his memoirs and the consequences that followed its publication, since our press has written a great deal about that.

[Shakhmatov] It is known that your father, in retirement, regretted that he had not had time to carry out the rehabilitation of Bukharin and Rykov. What did he say about them and other figures repressed under Stalin?

[Khrushchev] Both in his memoirs and in conversations with us Nikita Sergeyevich repeatedly turned to stories about party and Soviet figures whose names had figured in the open trials of the 1930s. He recalled Bukharin, Rykov and Tomskiy warmly. He regarded them with great respect.

His first question to USSR General Procurator R. A. Rudenko following Stalin's death and the denunciation of Beriya was this: "How well substantiated actually were the charges made against Bukharin, Rykov, Syrtsov, Lominadze, Krestinskiy and many, many other people who were known to the Central Committee, members of the Organizational Bureau and the Politburo?" Rudenko answered him that from the standpoint of legal norms, there was no information to convict these people, since everything had been based on their personal confessions obtained through physical and mental torture.

Following the 20th Congress an authoritative commission was formed that produced a finding concerning the falsification of those trials. However, at the request of the leaders of a number of Western Communist Parties,

the commission's materials were not published immediately. By 1964 they constituted five fat volumes. And everyone knows what happened that year, and unfortunately, truth and justice have only been restored in our times.

[Shakhmatov] The responsibility for illegal repressions under Stalin is shared by the members of Stalin's entourage, which also included N. S. Khrushchev. As we know, he was a member of the Central Committee starting with the 17th Congress and a member of the Central Committee Politburo starting with the 18th. It would have seemed better for him to have concealed the truth, but he had the courage to make his report at the 20th Congress about the personality cult and its consequences.

[Khrushchev] All that is described in detail in my father's memoirs. He spends several hundred pages candidly setting forth his position, reporting his own reflections before giving the report, and telling about the bitter disputes with the Stalinists. It was his idea that each of the leaders should bear his responsibility for what had happened in the party and the country, and he, too, was prepared to answer for it.

None of those who were at the top could avoid taking part in the repressions. According to Khrushchev's testimony as reflected in his memoirs, Stalin loved to do things as follows: take a list of people who it was proposed to arrest, sign it, and then immediately give it to the Politburo members to sign.

Furthermore, the circumstance of how those commands of Stalin's were received and executed is very important. Some people intensified them and zealously started seeking out enemies. Others, including Khrushchev, tried by hook or crook to avert the misfortune. He writes in his memoirs about who he managed to save and how.

My father recalled that when he became first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1938, he received a dossier on the well-known poet Maksim Rylskiy, who was accused of nationalism. He argued a great deal, and unsuccessfully, with Uspenskiy, the republic people's commissar of internal affairs, who demanded the poet's immediate arrest. Khrushchev found what was probably the only way out in the existing situation. He himself telephoned Stalin and told him about the case and that he personally did not consider Rylskiy a nationalist; and at the necessary moment, he used the main argument:

"Comrade Stalin, how can we arrest the poet who wrote the 'Song of Stalin,' which the whole Ukraine sings?"

Stalin reflected and after a little while pronounced: "Tell that fool Uspenskiy that he's gotten into something that is none of his business."

Maksim Rylskiy was saved.

Or take another example. Nikita Sergeyevich cites an episode in his memoirs connected with Aleksandr Petrovich Dovzhenko. Stalin, who had liked that film director and playwright, suddenly did not like the screenplay for the film "Ukraina v ognе" [The Ukraine in Flames]. He called in the people in charge, gave them a dressing down, accused the screenplay's author of every ideological sin, ordered a strict decree to be drafted on the matter, and assigned Khrushchev to do it. Dovzhenko fell into disfavor, but he would have suffered a great deal more unpleasantness if the people writing the decree had been zealous. But that was not the case. Nikita Sergeyevich tried to soften the blow. After Stalin's death he actively supported the screenplay and the film "Ukraina v ognе," which was produced by Mosfilm.

And a final example, which belongs to the period when Khrushchev became a Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the Moscow Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1949. It is a very important example, which shows why there was never a larger and more broad-scale "Moscow affair" after the pattern of the "Leningrad affair."

Stalin called in Khrushchev, gave him orders about how to perform in his new office, and at the same time handed him a document about the existence in Moscow of a widely ramified conspiracy headed by G. M. Popov (whom Khrushchev had replaced) and involving secretaries of the party raykoms, plant directors and prominent specialists. After looking over the document, Khrushchev recognized its falseness and decided to drag the case out as long as possible in the hopes that Stalin would somehow abandon the idea. He promptly sent Popov as far from Moscow as possible, to Kuybyshev, and took certain other steps. And when Stalin returned to the matter, Khrushchev told him that the information about the conspiracy was mistaken. Stalin evidently did not have a personal stake in creating a "Moscow affair," and the question was closed.

In telling about this, Nikita Sergeyevich notes in his memoirs that if he had failed to show initiative and had merely mentioned in passing his doubts that the information in question might contain a bit of truth, thousands of heads would have fallen.

The report at the 20th Congress was not easy for Khrushchev. Three years had passed since Stalin's death, and a tremendous number of people were still in the camps. "In those three years," the memoirs stress, "we had not been able to break with the past; we had not been able to gather the courage and sense of inner need, and open the curtain, and take a look to see what lay there behind that screen, what lay behind what had happened under Stalin, the arrests, trials, tyranny and executions. We ourselves were evidently fettered by our own activities under Stalin's leadership and had not yet been freed of his pressure." The report was given, the personality cult was denounced, and its consequences were eliminated.

[Shakhmatov] It is true that a person's world view is formed not just by life and work, but by books as well. Did your father ever tell you what he had read as a young person? Did he every recommend to you what he thought was interesting literature? What sort of books did he prefer?

[Khrushchev] Nikita Sergeyevich loved literature very much. He had always read: as a child and young man, and in various periods of his party and state activities (if time permitted); and he read a great deal in retirement, when he had free time.

He loved the classics. By my observations, he read Lev Tolstoy's "War and Peace" several times. He favored the works of Leskov and Kuprin. He knew a good many Nekrasov poems by heart. He was fond of Ukrainian literature, Prishvin and Paustovskiy, and stories about nature and hunting. It is hard to enumerate everything.

Like any reader, he had his antipathies, too. He called uninformative, factually unsupported literature "chewing gum." He did not like memoirs, especially war memoirs. He showed no interest in fictional works about the war, explaining this by claiming that most authors portrayed the horrors of war untruthfully, and that the books where they were truthfully depicted were depressing to read.

[Shakhmatov] And a final question, which could also have been the first; is it hard to be the son of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev?

[Khrushchev] Of course it is hard. A lot more responsibility is put on you than on other people. You answer not just for your own actions but for the times, the age in which you live.

It was not always easy for me at work in the period when my father was leader. When defending my own point of view, I had to try to take a second look and figure out whether my opponent was agreeing with me because I was right, or only because I was Khrushchev's son.

And after October 1964 it actually became easier. If someone agreed with me on some point, I was certain that I myself had demonstrated that I was right.

Now my time is filled to the limit. I devote my free hours to work on my father's memoirs. Bringing them to the reader is my party, ethical and moral duty. They will be interesting and useful not just for historians but for all Soviet people.

'Closed' City of Gorky Applauds Composer Shnitke, Violinist Kremers

18120081a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 12, 26 Mar-2 Apr 89 p 11

[Article by Olga Martynenko]

[Text] For 7 nights in a row the composer's gentle, hermit-like face glowed as he ascended the stage after concerts to thank the performers and the ecstatic audiences who were reluctant to go home.

Life is not easy in the city of Gorky: shops are empty and public transport overcrowded. The former Nizhny Novgorod, a large and solid city built by merchants, has fallen into visible decay in recent years, but not its people's free spirit and love for the beauty of the architectural landmarks.

The large crowds that stormed the not-so-large Conservatory hall and 1,000-seat Philharmonic Society auditorium where the Shnitke Festival events were staged attested to this love. People stood in the aisles, sat on windowsills and around the stage. It was the complete triumph of a kind of music which some consider difficult, even much too difficult.

Serious music appreciation requires a spiritual effort. But given this, one can make one's way into Shnitke's tragic world. A world where evil has many faces and good is lonely. But good is there and it makes the world go round. In this world the delightful soprano of Nelli Lee gives way to the funeral march of percussion ("Three Scenes"), the courageous viola of Yuri Bashmet grows faint with exhaustion (Viola Concerto), the choir mourns the dead and longs for redemption ("Verses of Repentance"—a recent composition dedicated to the Millennium of Christianity in Russia, to anonymous 16th-century lyrics). In Shnitke's world, the man who sells his soul to the devil awaits the inevitable retribution ("The History of Doctor Johannes Faust").

The audience was electrified by every sound, every note. "I never realized before that everything interacts; that music, the performer and the audience are one," Shnitke admitted.

Either because the city of Gorky is "closed" to foreigners or because the necessary papers weren't submitted in time, a BBS crew making a documentary about Alfred Shnitke was not admitted to the festival. But the "closed" city opened its gates wide for a cordial reunion with a compatriot who emigrated in the '70s.

When it was announced at the last concert that the Fourth Violin Concerto dedicated to Gido Kremers would be performed by Gido Kremers, the audience broke into a resounding applause. I even heard the word "Englishman" whispered by various people in the audience, because Kremers' name sounded so exotic and so little is known here about the Riga-born violinist who left Latvia for the West in the last '70s. World-famous, Kremers kept his Soviet citizenship and tried for years to get permission to perform in the USSR.

Kremers' performance—with Gorky's slightly awed but capable Philharmonic Society orchestra conducted by Vladimir Ziva—was brilliant. He then addressed the audience: "Twenty years ago when I offered to play Shnitke's music in my native Riga, they sent me a telegram: 'We don't need Shnitke. Play Beethoven.' But

the world goes round. The hearty welcome the city of Gorky has accorded Shnitke, and the atmosphere of this festival prove that we very much need and want Shnitke!"

The city authorities presented Shnitke with an Honorary Diploma, while the local Philharmonic Society gave him a huge Khokhloma hand pointed chalice. The Ministry of Culture and the Composers' Union, however, did not honour Shnitke. The only greetings to be forwarded to Gorky from Moscow were unofficial, signed by Shnitke's friends in the world of culture: Andrei Bitov, Fazil Iskander, Nikolai Samvelyan, Dmitry Likhachev, Metropolitan Filaret, Bulat Okudzhava and many others.

Shnitke described our times as a "time of getting together." Different styles in the arts have existed and will always exist, but now they are listening to each other. Of course, another reality may be born tomorrow, but the current dialogue promises to be of great use.

Directors Meyerhold, Stanislavsky Discussed at Workshops

*18120081b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 12, 26 Mar-2 Apr 89 p 11*

[Article by Anatoly Smelyansky: "And Again I Feel Like Repeating—Freedom!"—First paragraph printed in bold print and refers to preceding title]

[Text] The words in the title belong to Michael Chekhov. Living in emigration, the actor said the following about his teachers who were the foremost Russian stage directors: "You can't say, I accept Stanislavsky and I don't accept Meyerhold. This is the greatest and the most deplorable misunderstanding!... This 'either-or' is simply a disease!"

We have had a terrible case of this disease, and it keeps returning. This makes the international workshops on Meyerhold in Penza and on Stanislavsky in Moscow of special importance. Such events were unlikely to have happened at the same time in the past. The teacher and his quick-tempered student, though antagonists with respect to the art of performance, could unexpectedly agree; for example, they recognized Michael Chekhov as an ideal actor "above all schools and systems." Two masters, two victims of the times. Stanislavsky died in his bed. The old man Meyerhold was monstrously degraded by his sadistic investigators and murdered. Stanislavsky was canonized in his lifetime, having been murdered spiritually. Meyerhold was destroyed physically and his method was banned and made a bogey for several generations of theatre people. This devastated the country's theatre for many years. The cursed "either-or" cut the Soviet theatre off from its own roots.

Stanislavsky and Meyerhold were to be rehabilitated each in his own way. The image of the slain Master (Meyerhold) seems to have meant more to the new generations of stage directors than the image of the

stately Olympian (Stanislavsky) locked up in his home in Leontyevsky Lane. To get through to the flash-and-blood Stanislavsky has turned out to be harder than to reach out to Meyerhold. The recent international workshops clearly attest to the fact.

The workshop in Penza, Meyerhold's Native city, proposed the idea of a special Meyerhold fund in the Soviet Union which could promote his theory of the theatre. The task is formidable. Indeed, only today, 50 years after the producer's violent murder, we are publishing a collection of his works, lagging behind other countries in this respect. All Meyerhold's works should be published to dispel the haze of myths and rumours which surround his name. You don't have to look far afield for examples: writing in the magazine *NASH SOVREMENNİK* just 1 month ago, M. Lyubomudrov again attempted to turn Meyerhold into an enemy of genuine Russian art, while billing Stanislavsky as an exponent of genuine "Russian-ness," as almost a member of the anti-Semitic "Black Hundreds." This is the "either-or" principle at work, the favourite device for destroying great phenomena of culture, a custom-made device to serve certain maniacal ideas.

The "Stanislavsky in a Changing World" workshop held in Moscow by the newly created international Stanislavsky centre attached to the Union of Soviet Theatrical Workers was the culmination of meetings of theatre people everywhere in the world last year to mark Stanislavsky's 125th birthday and 50 years since his death. All these meetings left their participants with an especially bitter feeling about the monstrous outrage done to Stanislavsky especially during the 40s. His method was forcefully implanted in this country and in the neighbouring friendly countries on orders from on high in a brutishly official manner and in defiance of common sense. His ideas came to be billed as a theatrical analogue and the equivalent of socialist realism to which Stanislavsky did not subscribe. People were deceived and national traditions deformed. Masses of theatre people in some countries came to identify the Stanislavsky system with the ideological system which has mastered and misappropriated it. Stanislavsky was being turned into Stanislavsky. A system that represents a whole culture and that takes years to master, a teaching on how to create consummate values, an idea of the continuous quest by a freely creating spirit to come to know itself, was reduced to a set of ideological platitudes and crude catch phrases. While in some countries Stanislavsky was misappropriated by the officialdom, in others, like in the China of the cultural revolution, Stanislavsky was condemned as a revisionist and a bourgeois humanist. In either case nothing remained of what the producer really stood for.

The meeting in Moscow showed that Stanislavsky's cause can't be served by incantations. What is needed are new facts. The complete works of the founder of the Moscow Art Theatre should be published, his main works should be painstakingly translated again (the

available translations have been found totally unsatisfactory). An attempt should be made to see Stanislavsky in his own cultural context (that of the turn of the century), and as an inalienable part of world theatre with its many currents and trends. Speaking at the workshop about this theatre with a human face was the remarkable Czech director Otomar Krejca, who visited Moscow for the first time in 25 years. Yuri Lyubimov also spoke on this theme. Speaking on a related subject was Peter Brook whose current production of "The Cherry Orchard" in Moscow practically illustrated his points. His production seems to contain no traces of what is traditionally attributed to the Moscow Art Theatre and Stanislavsky's interpretations. The production uses absolutely different principles of space, mise-en-scene and sound. It creates a different Chekhov. But this plain, sophisticated and deeply humane production (I can't think of a different description) undoubtedly relies in part on what Stanislavsky discovered at the turn of the century. That is his idea of that special ensemble, that light, almost volatile psychologism not burdened with many mundane signs of the period. The affairs of Russia and common human interests came together there in the same way as the different traditions of the theatre of today.

And again it brings to mind Michael Chekhov. He dreamed about the theatre of the future as the art of bringing together elements that seem incompatible. This is very true. Any combination is permissible and the result can be superior—"the result would be beautiful, impressive, mathematically precise and humane." The actor thus describes the original nature of the art of "five great Russian stage directors." Only there shouldn't be the "either-or." "Everything is possible! In different conditions, in different combinations! And there are no bans whatever!... Everything is compatible and can be made to harmonize! Daring! Freedom! This is the way we were brought up by Stanislavsky, Meyerhold, Tairov and others."

That's how the great Russian actor reasoned. Yet how far we still are from his sense of freedom.

'Aprel' Committee Founded to Free Writers Union
18120081c Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 12, 26 Mar-2 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by Yelena Vesolaya: "Aprel—A Writers' Committee in Support of Perestroika"—First printed in bold print]

[Text] The public committee "Writers in Support of perestroika" (Aprel) was recently founded at the Central Writers Club.

The Moscow writers were united in the desire to help their Union get out of its present crisis. Anatoly Pristavkin, a prose writer, said that if we look back at the more than 50-year history of the Union and of its

leadership, practically all their efforts were directed at waging a struggle against such writers as Akhmatova, Pasternak, Platonov, Zoshchenko, Solzhenitsyn, Grossman and many others.

The Writers Union of today is not expelling anyone, and doesn't persecute writers for dissent. However, judging by what people said, it functions as it did before. It encourages some and holds back the others. The publication of a book is often determined by the writer's reputation and his status. It is as hard as before for talented young people to make a breakthrough in literature. The Union's authority is collapsing. It is enough to say that it is probably the only "creative" Union that did not support the Memorial public movement. The shameful decisions on expelling Alexander Solzhenitsyn and many other writers who were subjected in the 60s-70s to baiting and persecution on ideological grounds have not been rescinded to this day.

It looks like the leadership of the Union of Soviet Writers has other ideas about its activities. Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the Union, assured all those present that this organization had no other concerns, but to improve the writers' life. He spoke of the struggle waged by the Union's leadership for raising royalties and for flats. That, of course, is one of the more important aspects of life and not only for writers. However, when the writers made less mundane demands of their first secretary, there was no answer.

The new committee doesn't propose the setting up of an alternative Union. It thinks that it is necessary to turn the "ministry of literature" into a democratic, creative and independent organization. Its tasks also include the working out of legal measures to protect the writer from obvious and hidden censorship and arbitrariness. The committee proposes to convene an emergency All-Union Congress of Writers. It also has approved an annual literary prize—"For a Writer's Civic Courage." The committee members would like the prize to be named after Academician Andrei Sakharov.

Most Popular Soviet Books Lacking in Libraries
18000868a Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 14, 7 Apr 89 p 7

[Article by S. Yegorova: "From Karamzin to Pikul..., Competition for '100 best books of 1988' ends 15 April"]

[Excerpts] The numerous letters which the daily editorial mail brings are evidence of the sincere interest and lack of indifference of our readers in the results of the nation's publishing houses' annual work. By the way, there are also quite a few critical appraisals: You are exasperated by low number of published copies of books which are interesting from your point of view and you point out the large number of reprints.

[passage omitted]

Now about books "which you will not fall asleep over"... They are, first of all, a collection of articles "No Other Is Provided: The Fate of Perestroyka." It was published at the Progress Publishing House and at Minsk's Belarus Publishing House in a total edition of about 200,000. That is where the number of copies published is insufficient! Many name this book among the best.

The works of A. Platonov, A. Pristavnik, A. Rybakov, and V. Dudintsev were named among the best books of 1987. Many of them were reprinted in 1988 and will once again be included on the list of the best. Unfortunately, despite the fact that many of the nation's publishing houses decided to turn to them a second time, not all who wanted them could obtain them for their personal libraries.

It is the same story with the books of M. Bulgakov and V. Vysotskiy. Seven of this wonderful poet's poetry collections were printed at various publishing houses but, as usual, there are none on stores' book shelves. As for M. Bulgakov's books, despite the appearance of numerous collections in editions of more than 8,000,000 copies which were distributed throughout the country in 1988, the shortage has not diminished. Obviously, interest in creative mastery is higher than all of the legendary editions and his books will also be on the 1988 best-sellers list.

"While reading 'Crimson Island,' 'The Fatal Eggs,' or 'Heart of a Dog,'" writes S.V. Privalov from Orenburg, "you involuntarily think: Why did the writer see and describe all of this in the middle of the 1920's and we did not see and were silent until 1985?"

The discoveries we are making today belong to the category of if belated, but necessary. That is why each new "recurrence" also gladdens: For example, the opportunity to enrich one's library with the books of N. Gumlev which were published at the publishing houses of Tbilisi, Volgograd, and Leningrad in 275,000 total copies. "Beautiful verse in a beautiful miniature edition," Yu.I. Masterskikh from Sverdlovsk writes about the collection which Leningrad's Aurora Publishing House issued, and immediately bitterly adds: "...inaccessible to the rank and file [book] reader and purchaser." One can also relate the publication of V. Nabokov's long-awaited book by the Khudozhestvennaya Literatura [Belles-Lettres] Publishing House to the season's events. It is true that it is being named among the best to the surprise of some: Obviously, the reason is the modest (200,000 copies) number of copies published and hence the almost total inaccessibility.

The lists of books sent by you talk not only about the variety of the literature published this year, but also about the breadth of your passions and reading interests. As usual, attention to Russian history is great and, at the same time, a broad range of authors is being noted: from Karamzin to Pikul. Well, each is free to select his own "text"...

During formation of the list of the best books of 1988, we would like to know how you selected those books from your point of view. Response to the last competition showed that not all remained satisfied "with the books-laureates." Let us remember: In this regard, everything depends on you and on your "votes." So hurry to include in them the books most worthy of note which were published in 1988. Especially as there is not much time left until we arrive at the results—until 15 April. We are waiting for your letters!...

Journal Lists Films on Dangers of Drugs

18000868b *Alma-Ata AGITATOR KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 5, Mar 89 p 25*

[Unattributed Article: "Films about the Dangers of Drug Addiction"]

[Text] **The Needle** (1988, Kazakhfilm, 8 hours). An artistic movie with a poignant theme describes a youth fighting for the life and moral rehabilitation of his love, who has fallen under the influence of drug pushers.

A Writing Specimen (1987, Sverdlovsk Film Studio, 2 hours). This film recounts the fate of a man, thrice convicted for crimes committed while under the influence of drugs, and about the first months of his life after leaving a special colony for drug addicts.

The Whirlpool (1987, Ukraine News and Documentary Film Studio, 2 hours). This film is a danger and caution signal. It is about the tragedy of people who have ruined their lives and health through weak will and thoughtlessness.

The Needle (1988, Lennauchfilm, 3 hours). The film's makers attempt to ascertain the causes which have resulted in such widespread drug addiction and devote their thoughts to possible ways of treating it.

Wolves in the City (1987, Tadzhikfilm, 2 hours). What turns a grown man or a teen-ager to a passion for drugs? How do we resist it and those who make money on ruined lives? The film's makers pose these questions to themselves and to the audience.

Boomerang (1986, Uzbekistan's Popular Science and Documentary Film Studio, 2 hours). Brain atrophy, schizophrenia, and personality disintegration—this is the terrible face of drug addiction. We should not be indifferent when we are talking about the struggle with this terrible vice.

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Struggle Over Film Censorship Described

18000816a *Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 11 Apr 89 p 3*

[Article by Aleksandr Aleksandrov: "How I Was On Both Sides Of The Barricade"]

[Text] In the past, in those very times of stagnation that everyone remembers, everything in our world of film was as clear as could be. On one side were the bureaucrats, and on the other the artists, the creators, who were oppressed by all these bureaucrats. Between those two camps there was an impenetrable wall, and everyone knew exactly where it passed.

This wall was knocked down. They broke it up at the Fifth Film Makers' Congress. The bureaucrat was driven into the corner on creative matters. Now the bureaucrats are voting for the artist with both hands, even if they do not agree with him personally.

And what has happened to us, who have dared to claim to belong to the ranks of the artists?

Take for example the conflict between Rolan Bykov the artistic head of the "Yunost" [Youth] Association and the director I. Fridberg on the subject of the film "Dolly," which has caused such a sensation. I was a direct participant in this conflict, since at that time I was the chief editor for the "Yunost" association. The situation was extremely simple, although they subsequently managed to distort it out of all recognition. The crux of the dispute was a scene of intimacy between a female teacher and a male student, a scene which had been filmed completely inoffensively. That was not the point at all, rather it was a matter of the ethical position of the director who introduced the theme of a romance between student and teacher into his film, in my opinion, to the detriment of a script that was concerned with something else entirely.

The association could not agree to the director's conception, which first arose at the stage of the director's script. As for me, without precluding the possibility of an artistic exploration of this theme in the "Yunost" association, I believed that in this case the scene was filmed for the sake of salaciousness, and thus was vulgar and inappropriate.

This story had a sequel. The film was accepted by Valentin Chernykh, the head of the "Slovo" association, who believed that Bykov has been wrong.

But how quickly everything changes in our time! Yesterday, B. Chernykh appeared in the role of advocate and supporter of I. Fridberg, proclaiming the right of the artist to have his own viewpoint, while today he in his role as artistic head, has found himself in a similar situation. Yesterday, I myself was on one side of the barricade, and today I am on the other.

The newly established "Slovo" association within "Mosfilm" was assigned a film based on a script I had written 12 years ago. At that time it was called "Palace Avenue;" it was buried twice, in other words, it was simply closed down. Scripts too get old, I have no faith in a script filmed after 12 years. Our viewpoint changes; we always express ourselves in the terms of today, even though the theme raised in a script may not have aged, and even become more critical with time. This was the case, I thought, with "Palace Avenue." The completed film was released under the title "Drown My Sorrows." V. Chernykh's experience as a film maker testifies to the fact that he knows how to court success with audiences (take, for example, his film "Moscow Doesn't Believe In Tears," based on a script he wrote.)

Putting my old screenplay into production, he said straight out: "Make this film so that children under 16 will be prohibited from seeing it." "That won't be hard," I answered. All the more so because the screen play concerned complex human relationships and people on the brink of moral catastrophe, spiritual dehumanization. The picture was filmed by improvisation with the script rewritten as we went along, and I participated in it, along with V. Prokhorov, as a director/stage manager. "Now, you'll see," snickered I. Fridberg. "Now you'll get a taste of what happened to me." And so I did.

No, no one interfered with us; they treated us with complete faith, and although they could not have understood everything about the conception of the film, they allowed us to make it. We were aided by practical advice from the members of the artistic council, V. Frid, E. Volodarskiy, and K. Voinov who played one of the main parts in the film, and by Valentin Chernykh himself. At all stages we rejected some of the suggestions of the association. And only after we thought the picture was finished did the denouement come. The association refused to accept the film in our version as revised by the author, demanding corrections which we could not agree to. From the point of view of the association, the film contained an excess of hysterics, anguish, brawls, frequent use of uncensored terms. In short, dark colors predominated in the film's palette, and the elimination of certain scenes could lighten it up a bit. In addition, it was recommended to us that we change the ending, which we, naturally, could not do: from my point of view, the ending is the concept. Thus they were asking us to renounce our concept.

We were told that one of the scenes verged on vulgarity and debases the hero, leaving him without any hope of redemption and presents him as virtually an animal, but this was precisely where we had led our hero, driving him "to the devil" (in Dostoevskiy's expression), and yet this vulgarity with its anguish and dissolution does not preclude our feeling sympathy for him. As for the use of uncensored expressions, this is how people curse, our scene contains a brawl, not noblemen fighting a duel.

The chief editor of the association said in her evaluation; "Why should we teach people vulgar expressions?" To which I reply, they know it all anyway.

V. Chernykh decided to bring our dispute to the board of the "Mosfilm" film studio. The board decided in favor of accepting the film in the author's version, since we were unable to come to an agreement with the association. The story could have ended here, but V. Chernykh, in his own words, went looking for the lever within the new model of cinematography which he could pull to put the director in his place. Without accepting the film, he recommended that we apply to the conflict committee of the Cinematographers' Union of the USSR. They took our side.

The only higher level in the hierarchy was Goskino (State Film Commission) and V. Chernykh decided to stage his final battle on this battlefield. First he sent them the film without a statement saying that the association and film studio had accepted it. Goskino reacted quickly and refused to consider it. He was thus forced to sign such a statement. At Goskino, Chernykh posed the question for discussion as follows: if Goskino believes that the film should be allowed to exist in this version, they are supporting the point of view of the authors. In reply they asked reasonably, "But didn't you accept the film?" "Under duress." "Well, we accept it under duress too," they replied.

Why the artistic directors of the "Slovo" association had to go through all these steps is easy to understand. Today the legal relationships between the studio and the director are not regulated. There is no clear director's contract. The two situations I have described are incontrovertible arguments for developing one. But the question arises: can there be a single standard contract? And this is a serious problem. A draft contract between studio and director is being prepared for "Mosfilm," which is going to be run on a cost accounting basis and will be independent. In particular, the contract will stipulate that the director will be responsible for the first two montages (versions or editions) of the film and the studio or association for the third, and final one. In other words, if the director refuses to make corrections, he will be removed from the film and the association will complete it without him. This is exactly the lever that V. Chernykh was seeking so doggedly.

In conceiving of such a cabalistic contract, they again refer to experience in Western cinematography. They are saying, in effect, let it be here like it is in America, forgetting that we live in an utterly different part of the world, under a totally different economic system. There the director, in signing such contracts, at least has the hope of getting rich and financing the film himself, or, becoming a famous name and entering into another type of contract. Here all alternative variants will be

excluded, we will receive a standard contract and the possibility of financing the film ourselves, I think, is not something foreseen by anyone, at least not in the next thousand years.

I think that nevertheless we must accustom ourselves to the fact that there may exist a variety of points of view on one and the same phenomenon, that the artist is subjective, but in the final analysis, he alone is responsible for the work he has created. And the associations should learn from the newspapers, which print material even if the editors do not agree with the authors. This will be a manifestation of democracy and glasnost in the true sense.

Culture Ministry Official Responds to Questions On Theater Reforms

18000816b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 11 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Vadim Demin, head of the Chief Directorate for Theaters, USSR Ministry of Culture: "Mel-pomen [expansion unknown] On Cost Accounting"]

[Text] The telephone rang in the editorial offices and an agitated voice asked whether it was true that all our theaters were going to be switched over to a cost accounting basis. More and more calls were received.... What had happened? What events served as the occasion for such calls? Vadim Demin, head of the Chief Directorate for Theaters, USSR Ministry of Culture, answered questions posed by our correspondent.

[Demin] Evidently, the occasion was the joint resolution of the College of Ministries of Culture and the Secretariat of the Board of the USSR STD [expansion unknown], "On new conditions of administrative, creative and economic activity for the theaters of our country," which was published on 16 March, but has not yet been received by everyone.

Indeed, our theaters will be switched over to cost accounting, but this does not at all mean that they will have to become self-supporting. As in the past, the theatrical arts will be subsidized by the state, only no longer in the form of a subsidy per se, but rather as a budgetary allocation from a special development fund financed with resources from the USSR State Budget, budgets of union and autonomous republics, and local budgets.

While, in the past, the subsidy existed mainly for making up the difference between income and expenses; from now on, the budget allocation will be distributed on the basis of preestablished amounts, which will take into account all specific conditions, and will be considered a priori income to be spent at the discretion of the theater on creative development, upgrading of equipment and facilities, and improvement of recompense for work

done. The theater will become the true master of its own income and successful work collectives may use their resources for the creative and social programs they consider desirable.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that deductions for the state fund will cease?

[Demin] No, all the obligatory payments will continue. But a number of previous limitations that have hampered productive and financial activity will be replaced. There will be expansion of the rights of the management, who, in coordination with trade union committees, will determine the number of workers required, approve staff appointments, and award salary bonuses. The republic ministries will have the right, in coordination with the STD of the USSR, to establish the position of artistic director, at a salary 20 percent above that of chief director and, if this position is occupied by a director (which is not at all obligatory), with additional payment for productions staged. Theaters will be permitted to purchase nonfood items in the stores by signing for them, with cost of the goods included in the plan for retail trade turnover...

[Correspondent] But ultimately will the theaters receive more or less financial aide from the state?

[Demin] We are not talking about a blanket change in the sum received. The budgetary allocation will not be less than the present one, but will be a direct function of the success of the theater's work.

[Correspondent] Won't modest theaters in small cities suffer?

[Demin] The established standard budgetary allocations will take into account all factors, including objective difficulties. The new economic mechanism will give theaters the right to accept funds from socialist patrons, or is we now say, sponsors, for use in their operations.

[Correspondent] And will they [the sponsors] also share in the income?

[Demin] That is their right as as subject to mutually agreed upon conditions.

[Correspondent] Won't this economic dependence entail a threat to the existence of certain work groups?

[Demin] That is not impossible. The state cannot permit itself the luxury of maintaining theaters that do not justify themselves either artistically or economically.

[Correspondent] Are there weak spots or insufficiently developed points in this document?

[Demin] Alas, there are still many unsolved problems with the introduction of the new economic principle. First of all, there is the issue of forming troupes; the

statute about reselection does not work efficiently enough, but there is no alternative yet. And in addition there is still no real social security for artistic staff once they begin to work on contract.

Although the theaters can now seriously improve the conditions of staff remuneration, the old wage scales are still in effect, and the issue of qualitatively improving wages has not yet been resolved, except for employees of children's theaters.

[Correspondent] When will the new resolution go into effect?

[Demin] Gradually. Over the course of 1989, as the theaters become ready for it.

Association of Studio-Theaters Formed
18000816c Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in
Russian 11 Apr 89 p 3

[Article: "Studios, Unite"]

[Text] A serious step has been taken to consolidate the studio movement in the USSR—an essential and artistically valuable part of the whole theatrical process. On their own initiative, acknowledged leaders of the studio movement, theatrical scholars, economists, and sociologists have formed the Association of Theater Studios.

The Center of Sociology and Theatrical Criticism of the USSR STD [expansion unknown] is collecting and analyzing the information about the creative, economic, production, and administrative problems of the studio movement that will be essential if the association is to perform effectively. A form has been developed ("Theater Studio Passport") for theater studios wishing to participate in the formation and further activity of the association. Requests for the form, providing the name of the theater studio, the address, name of the head, and genre specialty, should be sent to the address: Moscow 125047, Gorkiy Street, 46 6 TsCiTK SRD USSR.

More Control Exerted Over Frunze 'Video Salons'
18330013a

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 4 January 1989 carries on page 4 an 800 word interview with Sh. K. Kerimbayev, director of the newly organized 'Videofilm' directorate in Frunze whose goal is to put the work of video salons and video cooperatives in order. "Pointing out that a number of cooperatives have recently established themselves in the city, he claims that "the secret showing of films which sensationalize pornography, violence and crime, and even straightforward anti-Soviet films like 'Rambo' is widespread." Because of this, the KSSR Council of Ministers passed a decree which appointed the 'Videofilm' directorate to put the repertoires of the video cooperatives "into political order" and to "raise the ideational-political level" of films shown.

Lvov Oblast Official on Poor Progress in Restoring Monuments
18000876 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
12 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with I. A. Kudin, deputy chairman of the Lvov Oblast Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments and kray studies specialist, conducted by V. Baziv: "The Road Which Leads to the Temple"]

[Text] *From the first days of existence of the society, Igor Andreyevich was in the forward ranks of those who preserved the spiritual riches of the people. At almost each of the 9 electoral conferences in which he participated over a period of a quarter of a century, the bureaucratic opposition tried to unseat him. For his complete devotion to the cause, for his indefatigability, and simply for his fanatical stubbornness. Yet each time he was taken under the protection of the vast legion of Lvov fellow champions of preservation work, who wanted to see specifically this tireless man at the head of their spiritual movement. The doors of his office, which was piled high with albums, mock-ups, copies of living and, unfortunately, already non-existent monuments, were always open. Every day tens of enthusiasts pass through this sanctuary with ideas, each time with different news, and with offers to personally serve the people's cause which aggrandizes, ennobles, and elevates one above the bustle of everyday existence.*

[Baziv] An associate of V. I. Lenin, Academician I. E. Grabar once wrote: "Lvov is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. It is like no other city in the world. Lvov's architectural monuments and their unique beauty are an exclusive phenomenon not only in domestic, but also in world art". The problem of preserving the unique historical heritage of Lvov was one of the central questions at the meeting of M. S. Gorbachev with the representatives of the city's scientific and artistic intelligentsia which was held last month. It was stated that Lvov should be proclaimed a city-preserve, and that the country's central organs should develop a special program to preserve the architectural richness of Lvov. How do we manage this sacred treasure, how do we preserve and duplicate it? After all, the state of the city's ancient buildings which have absorbed in themselves the traits of all epochs and have pierced the century with the roots of ancient Russian art, may, without exaggeration, be called pitiful. The Polish Roman Catholic Church of Elizabeth which stands in the square near the railway station is the first thing every guest to the city notices. The worn, half-demolished "Elizabeth" has cried out for help for many years.

[Kudin] As for "Elizabeth", our new time has had a favorable effect on her fate. The Komsomol gorkom has found a cooperative of multi-story house builders who are already repairing the monument.

However, let us turn to the arithmetic. Every year, 16 million rubles are spent on the restoration of Riga, 20 million on the restoration of Vilnius, and 60 million rubles of state allocations are spent on the restoration of Leningrad. These projects are provided with limited construction materials. Yet for the entire Ukraine, with its population of 52 million, only 3-5 million have been allocated (last year for the first time this figure was 10 million). As for Lvov itself, and compared with it the architectural heritage of Riga or Vilnius is nevertheless more humble, last year it was allocated only half a million.

Let us call things by their true name. Here in the Ukraine the preservation of monuments has been relegated to the control of such an organization as Gosstroy which, to put it mildly, is far removed from culture. It is racked with endless production problems and gigantic projects. Now it has the housing program to the year 2000, and we come to it with our "Elizabeth". I have spoken repeatedly about this, and will repeat: The Gosstroy leaders are devoid of the feeling of patriotism which they should have simply by virtue of their position.

Let me cite the following fact, again arithmetic. There is a four-volume work published by Gosstroy entitled "Monuments of UkSSR Urban Building and Architecture". Here is the number of figures cited in it. For comparison: Nikolayevo Oblast—11, Kiev Oblast—184, Voroshilovgrad Oblast—10; Zaporozhye Oblast—4, and Lvov Oblast—507. These figures reflect not the real number of monuments, but rather the attitude of the local organs to the sacred cause of their preservation. For example, Zaporozhye is one of the spiritual centers of the people, in which each stone reminds us of the glorious times of the Kazak freemen. And so as not to leave the column blank, they wrote down four objects. Yet how many of them are really scattered over the Kazak land?

[Baziv] I would ask you to deal in greater detail with the dry statistics, which in this case may serve as the most expressive measure of spirituality and social conscience. What quantitative changes are taking place in your delicate sphere?

[Kudin] These are arithmetic processes which even Newton himself could not fathom, even if there were golden apples dropping on his head. Let us return to the recent times of Nikita Sergeyevich, when the order was given to sharply reduce the number of monuments taken under state protection.

And so they began to reduce the register, at least by half, to erase from the paper, and then from the memory that which is called people's culture. In Lvov there turned out to be only 216 objects under state protection. Yet let us see what was being done to save the spiritual potential of the people from the bureaucratic tyranny. Under one

number, for example, Ploshchadi Rynok [Market Square] there were 46 separate objects listed. On paper they had been cut down, but in fact they were being preserved.

And if it were not for some decent people, and with some authority, who would grab the vandal by the hand, how much destruction he would cause. Here is but a single example. The former leaders of the city of Belz in Sokalskiy rayon turned to the oblispolkom with the following petition: "A non-functioning church in the city of Belz is located in a cemetery. It was built in the 17th century. During the period of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 this church was repeatedly shelled..., as a result of which the roof is in a state of disrepair. The ceiling covering has been 70 percent worn out. The former bell tower stands near the church, and has already rotted through... In order for the city cemetery to have an attractive appearance, the ruined church, which is 100 percent ridden with wood rot, must be dismantled". But since the Belz church was on that list of objects to be preserved, the first deputy chairman of the Lvov oblispolkom at that time, M. Gnydyuk (the very same adopted brother in arms of the intelligence agent Nikolay Kuznetsov) answered as follows to the jealous guardians of the "cemetery beauty": "According to Article 207 of the UkSSR Criminal Code, the destruction or ruin of monuments of culture is punishable as a criminal offense".

Recently under the arches of this, already restored monument, the oblast's first archeological museum was opened.

[Baziv] In the 60's, in the village of Stoyanov in Radekhovshchina, one high official was being promoted as a public servant. When he came out of the village club after a triumphant "approval", he noticed the little church across the way. He ordered: "Tear it down". The obedient owners began to carry out his order, to the cries and lamentations of the old women. And just as the axe was about to fall, it was stopped by the voice of conscience. This was not simply a temple of God, but a storehouse of the people's talent.

Yet in order to keep the high official from being angry, the lot across from the club was nevertheless cleared, and the dismantled church was taken to Lvov to the museum of architecture and everyday life to be reconstructed under an open sky, since it appeared on the preservation list. There they dumped it near a fence. For several years it rotted under the rain and snow. Then they began putting it up, but still have not managed to do so.

[Kudin] Ivan Franko called for tolerance: "Appeal to the wall 100 times..." In the 22 years of my work in the society I have firmly recognized that we must live and act only according to this appeal. If it does not help, we must not speak in addressing the wall, but must beat our heads against it. In the second half of the 60's, when the atmosphere had warmed at least in words, we identified,

described, and photographed another 340 monuments which were to be taken under state protection. The oblispolkom accepted 240 of them. And only after 10 years did the UkSSR Council of Ministers legalize the status of the monuments. Today this list contains over 2000 architectural monuments and 700 archeological monuments, 200 of which are from the times of Kievan Russia and the Galitsko-Volyn princedoms.

Moreover, we have proposed adding another 500 titles to the catalog of "Monuments of UkSSR History and Culture".

[Baziv] This catalog lists the 18th century wooden Polish Roman Catholic church in Volosha village of Drogo-bychskiy rayon. It used to be, but is no longer. The local activists of our time burned down the monument under cover of the night. The instigator of this action was the local kolkhoz chairman, who soon after was elected first secretary of the party raykom (although, it is true, he lasted only a year in that position). The synagogue in Zhuravniy also went up in smoke, and it contained wall paintings from the 19th century which have no equal...

[Kudin] I would also like to refer to another register, which gladdens the soul, since perestroyka has allowed us to replenish it. Through the means of the oblast organization of our society alone, over 100 architectural monuments have been restored, including 40 wooden churches.

[Baziv] There have been shifts in some areas in the constant struggle against bureaucratic indifference. The preservation of a house in Stebnik where the first meeting of the worker's Soviet in our kray was held has become the talk of the town. The leadership of the local potassium combine flatly refused to restore the building. And nevertheless—appeal to the wall 100 times—500,000 rubles have already been allocated. In recent years the estates of Ivan Franko and Markiyan Shashkevich have been restored, and 59 memorial artistic plaques have been made and set in Lvov oblast, commemorating the names of famous Galitsy leaders and the important events in the history of the kray. A monument was erected to Ivan Vishenskiy in his homeland—in Sudovaya Vishnya. A monument will be erected to our country's first encyclopedist, Pamvo Berinde, in his village of Yasniski. The military leader Dmitro Bobrok from the town of Bobrok, who distinguished himself at the battle of Kulikovo, is also worthy of recognition. The monument to A. S. Pushkin in the village of Zabolotovtsy in Zhidachovskiy rayon has been restored. This is the first monument to the poet outside the boundaries of the Russian state and was built prior to World War I.

I will remind you that funds may be sent to account No 70043 to the operational administration of the Lvov Zhilsotsbank [housing and social services bank] in the name of the person for whom the monument is intended.

[Baziv] And how do you intend to perpetuate the memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions?

[Kudin] This perpetuation includes an entire set of memorial measures. We have begun by placing two memorial-artistic plaques to Lesyu Kurbas in Lvov and in his native city of Sambor. The monument to the great theater reformer is already finished.

In this anniversary year, we will unveil a memorial plaque to Academician Kirill Studinskiy, who was the chairman of the People's Meeting and whose lips proclaimed Soviet authority in Lvov in 1939. In 1941 he perished together with the son of Ivan Franko, Peter.

The government resolution on erecting a monument to Kobzar in Lvov dates back to 1945. Retired carpenter M. Nikelskiy reminded the people and the government about their unfulfilled debt. He started the contribution fund for construction of the monument to Shevchenko, and handed over 4,000 rubles of his savings to our organization. Today this fund contains almost half a million, and a republic competition for design of the monument has been announced.

[Baziv] Nevertheless, no matter how happy we are at the slightest stirrings of awakened conscience, without correcting that social injustice about which we spoke above, we cannot even think of the fruitfulness of efforts to make up what has been lost in the course of decades, or of commemorating the 50th anniversary of the unity of the Ukrainian people with real deeds directed toward enriching its spiritual heritage.

[Kudin] The Lvov restoration workshop, which also serves several oblasts, may perform work on no more than 10 objects at one time. Yet the number of monuments is almost 4,000. We must take a sober look at the real state of affairs. It is very difficult to sharply increase the material base of preservation work.

The republic organs have refused to give us financial provision. Then the chairman of the Lvov section of the Soviet Culture Fund, Ye. Mysko, sent a letter to USSR Minister of Culture V. Zakharov with a request to allocate 7-10 million rubles for restoration work in Lvov.

[Baziv] We would very much like to believe that the Ministry of Culture will listen to the voice of the Lvov intelligentsia and will make a real contribution to the preparations for the 50th anniversary of the reunification of the Ukrainian people.

[Kudin] The restoration work must be performed today, since tomorrow it will already be too late. Encouraging in its true humanism, perestroyka brings us onto the path which leads to the temple of spirituality and civilization. Since, as the main characters of T. Abuladze maintained, what is the road for if it does not lead to the temple?

Conservative Critic Blasts Granin Novel

18000622 Moscow KOMMUNIST
VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian
No 4, Feb 89 pp 89-96

[Article by V. Bondarenko, literary critic and member of the USSR Writers' Union, under the rubric "Criticism and Bibliography": "A Sense of the Homeland"]

[Text] Imagine that today you are reading the following lines in a central newspaper: "... I never met a man who loved Mother Rus more than I do, and its Belorussian parts in particular. It would be useless to try to explain this love by certain Russian qualities. These qualities exist, of course, but a person in love does not love because the object of his love enticed him with virtues—he loves because that is his nature and because he cannot help but love. That is why I am deeply indignant at those gentlemen who are ready to die in some corner of Paris, who curse everything Russian in some kind of sensual manner, and who can without the slightest regret live their whole lives abroad because Russia has fewer conveniences and less comfort. I hate these people; they trample in the dirt what to me is unspeakably dear and sacred." Do you believe that this could have been published by OGENOK or YUNOST, ZNAMYA or SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA or MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI? I do not believe it either. And these are in fact the words of Petr Ilyich Chaykovskiy.

Today I read how the well-known dramatist Viktor Rozov stated that he is not proud of the fact that he is Russian. I read how the well-known Belorussian prose writer Ales Adamovich called his Belorussia, his Homeland, the contemporary Vandee. I read how after he moved from Kiev to Moscow Vitaliy Korotich spoke contemptuously of contemporary Ukrainian culture. The sense of the Motherland is deliberately devalued. Duty to the Motherland has been neglected for many years. It seems that many newspaper publicists have classified all the great moral and civic concepts as concepts of stagnation. The newly appeared "liberators" want to use the mass information media to rid the coming generations of the "heavy fetters of conscience" and of the "excessive weight of civic spirit" a little more quickly.

The sense of the Motherland is genetically inherent to every people. People in the United States are proud of Lincoln and Washington, Edison and Faulkner and people in France—Napoleon and De Gaulle, Joliot-Curie and Balzac. Every country has its own national heroes who symbolize the dignity and honor of the nation. And every time in a period of sharp changes in society and in a period of destabilization people appear who totally reject everything that was and put forth morally corrupt people in the role of new authorities. I think that the new names themselves are not so important to their propagandists. One is just as good as another, as long as there is slightly less sanctity, slightly

less heroism, slightly fewer popular symbols. Here the principle of universal moral relativity is important. One can serve in the Red Army and then in a German tank division—it does not mean a thing. We will call it a complicated destiny.

One can commit a crime and demand that it be praised. One can change citizenship more than once, and not for political reasons at all, and then boldly demand that the Motherland apologize to you. One can say one thing in the Western press and just the opposite in the native Soviet press.

For example, today literary-artistic journals are captivated with publishing literary figures who left for the West in the period of stagnation. Even their leaving is declared an act of heroism, an act of resistance. In "Continent" A. Sinyavskiy wrote: "Russia-bitch, you will have to answer for this too!" The abuse of Russia by the third wave of emigration surprised the entire world. But why today, when we publish the poems and prose of I. Brodskiy, N. Korzhavin, and V. Voynovich, do we keep silent about their social position and shyly turn aside from their writings on social and political issues, which the whole world knows about. We do not want to print, for example, "An Open Letter to Naum Korzhavin" by the major German prose writer Henrich Boell, who renounces our dissidents' all-embracing opposition to socialism. Can it be that Henrich Boell is a Stalinist?

Even there, abroad, the emigres are divided into those who had a sacred sense of the Motherland and agonizingly survived being torn from its soil and those who have ecstatically desecrated our history. There were those who understood that emigration is weakness and did not present themselves as doers of heroic deeds. When things are bad at home, you do not leave home. But others felt no moral bonds to the Motherland. They prefer their own personal life. They have no Russian pain and no concern for the country's misfortunes. But they are also indifferent to the country they reside in. Wherever they can live more richly is a good place.

Should they be published? Should we write about them? I think that everything that is highly talented should be published. The time has come to speak of the most complicated fates. To raise the most hushed-up names. The Motherland is great because it possesses the great right of forgiveness. The right of MERCY. Unfortunately, the process of democratization and glasnost which has begun is, in my opinion, leading to a clearly tendentious evaluation of certain figures of the past. Mercy is being openly replaced by unrestrained apologetics.

I will tell about this in slightly more detail in the example of the polemic which has flared up concerning Danil Granin's novella "Zubr" [The Bison], which is devoted to the well-known biologist and geneticist N. Timofeyev-Resovskiy. In one of my articles I reproached the writer

for refusing to evaluate the scientist's behavior in the years of the war against fascist Germany, when Timofeyev-Resovskiy participated in the atomic project and headed the department of genetics at the Brain Institute near Berlin during all the years of the Great Patriotic War.

No 4, 1988 of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published a letter to the editor by three well-known scientists V. Strunnikov, A. Yablokov, and V. Ivanov under the title "Unsubstantiated Charges." The authors of the letter reproach me and say that in my article "Essays on Literary Morals" (MOSKVA, No 12, 1987), I made unsubstantiated charges against the remarkable scientist and famous geneticist N. V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy, of whom our science and world science has the right to be proud.

The authors of the letter assert that I made a "completely intolerable mistake by confusing a literary hero and his real prototype. How can one discuss and condemn a real person on the basis of an artistic work about him?"

But that same LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, of 27 May 1987, in a conversation with D. Granin entitled "A Distant Echo and a Close One," confirms the documentary nature of the novella "The Bison." The writer also talks about the authenticity of all the events portrayed in the novella in an interview in the journal ZNANIYE-SILA (No 7, 1987). And, moreover, the library description of the book, which was published by SOVETSKIY PISATEL in 1987, calls it a "documentary-artistic novella." All the names cited in the novella belong to people who actually existed and many are living today. I will note that two of the three authors of the letter are among the heroes of the book. They are portrayed in the rosiest tones in the "The Bison." So one must wonder how to take D. Granin's statements about the scientific reputation of A. Yablokov and the impartiality of V. Ivanov: as the invented traits of fictional characters, or should we "make an intolerable mistake" and consider the authors of the letter "real people"?

We shall do the latter. So, the real authors of the letter point out "... the active participation of the **Bison's son** (here and from now on the emphasis is Bondarenko's) in antifascist activities. Such a fact would be inconvenient for the critic's arguments, and he simply does not mention it." Then they related new facts on Foma Timofeyev's participation in the antifascist struggle. Before this the authors of the letter assert that "... no one called Timofeyev the Bison while he was alive"; the Bison is a fictional person, so then **the Bison's son** is also a fictional person, but the authors talk about the real deeds of Foma Timofeyev. Let us leave this breakdown in logic on the conscience of those who wrote the letter. Let us consider why Timofeyev-Resovskiy did not permit himself to take refuge in his dead son: "Why should I?" he said maliciously to D. Granin. "Foma was not an indulgence. Do you want to embellish me? A crown of thorns... An excuse... All your topics are lies..."

Timofeyev-Resovskiy answered the authors of the letter quite convincingly as to why he did not have to take refuge in the death of his son in the torture chambers of the Gestapo. That was not quite the situation. All of us are sorry for any hero who was murdered. But, for example, could the mother of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya have reached Goebbels's office with a request for mercy for her daughter? Could Karbyshev's relatives have gotten an audience with, for example, Bormann? But does Timofeyev-Resovskiy try to get a top-level meeting through Heisenberg and Weizecker, the leaders of the work on the atomic bomb?

I understand a father and mother's feelings. I also know that the famous German physicist Max Planck, whose son was shot too, at one time got an audience with Hitler. But how can one escape the fact that Timofeyev-Resovskiy, as we are assured, was a Soviet citizen. Timofeyev-Resovskiy's meetings with the fascist leadership during the war provoke a different feeling than similar meetings of any of the citizens of Germany or of that same Max Planck.

Let us ponder why the atomic physicist L. A. Artsimovich did not offer his hand to Timofeyev-Resovskiy in 1945 when he flew to Berlin immediately after it was taken by Soviet troops? Artsimovich greeted his colleagues, Germans, who were also leaving for the secret atomic project in the Urals. "So what did you expect?" the Bison said to his German colleagues, "To get off cheaply?" When he felt he was right, Timofeyev-Resovskiy was not afraid of anything: he thundered against Lysenko during the time when the latter was in favor. But he did not tell even his close friends about his life in Germany: "... he was not dying to justify himself, to protest." "It would be wrong to believe that his reputation did not concern him. It certainly did! But why did he keep silent, so stubbornly silent? I persistently tried to find that out from Vorontsov and Yablokov."

How did the famous scientists answer the writer? "They agreed on one thing—his arrogance got in the way. He did not want to justify himself and try to prove his integrity, decency, and love for his motherland. His pride would not let him. His self-esteem." His self-esteem allowed him to go the office of a **high official** in the fascist government but it did not allow him to try to prove **his love for his motherland**. And to whom should he justify himself? "To the slanderers, the rabble, people without consciences?" Luckily, that is not the opinion of Timofeyev-Resovskiy himself, but of his present apologists. He himself "accepted the verdict of the court as his due."

When one reads the story carefully, one begins to distinguish between N. V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy's position and that of D. Granin. Where the writer relies on the notes and statements of the scientist there is one position: repentance and understanding of his guilt before the Motherland and subconscious expectation of retribution. Timofeyev-Resovskiy, I dare say, would not

have accepted this novella, just as other readers among those who knew the scientist well did not accept it. He was not so brazen as to elevate and justify his offense, if not shame.

Neither in the journal article nor now do I dispute the significance of the scientist's scientific works, and I certainly do not intend to accuse him. I am objecting to the fact that all Timofeyev-Resovskiy's activities are now being put on a pedestal of honor. The Bison is declared—of course, without his consent—a measure of morality, honor, and civic behavior.

It would be nice to know a German historian's opinion on whether a citizen of a country fighting against Germany could work as the leader of a department in a major German center, practically in Berlin itself. This would, of course, take into account that, according to the text of the novella, hospitals were part of the institute while next door Heisenberg's main group was working on the atomic bomb project.

Agreeing for the time being with the authors of the letter that the Bison was a Soviet citizen all the years of the war, let us ponder whether that does not raise his responsibility for everything that happened even more? The work of a Russian emigre in Germany in the years of the war against us is one thing. But the work of a Soviet citizen on German science in those very same war years is something else again.

Look more closely at the argument of the esteemed authors of the letter: refusing to return to the Soviet Union, becoming a "nevozvraschenets" [one who refuses to be repatriated], he preferred to remain working in fascist Germany rather than going to America... "since he considers himself a USSR citizen and does not want the way to the Motherland to be closed for his sons..." But what about for himself?

B. Brecht and T. Mann, L. Feichtwanger and G. Gros left. Artists and musicians, scientists and writers felt all the horror of fascism. But even in the fascist period, already as a "nevozvraschenets," the Bison made scientific trips to Scandinavia, Italy, and the United States and returned to the lair of fascism. In D. Granin's opinion, "... Nazism was calculated above all for the Germans. In this feverish work German political life rarely affects his soul and then not deeply. He is overflowing with what is being done in his motherland. There devastating articles about famous biologists are published more and more often and their views are called reactionary and dangerous." But did the arson of the Reichstag and the book burnings in Berlin itself, and the celebration of racist theory and the devastating articles about German scientists—did they not bother Timofeyev-Resovskiy? D. Granin sometimes lets the cat out of the bag: "He did not think of the consequences, he did not care at all about the future, he had to finish the experiment."

Did the Bison work for the German war machine?

Who is he—a victim of Stalinist repressions or a person whom the Motherland pardoned?

Let us once again look through the novella. Let us turn our attention to why both A. P. Zavenyagin, the deputy people's commissar of internal affairs, who oversaw work on the atomic problem, and the atomic physicist L. A. Artsimovich presented themselves to the Bison in particular? As D. Granin writes: "Zavenyagin... unerringly evaluated the significance of this man and the value of his work and that of the laboratory's entire collective, which reached us complete and intact" and "He did not come to the front by accident—our physicists were interested in German projects. One of them (the German projects—?!—Bondarenko) involved the problem of biological protection, for work was already going forward on the atomic bomb."

Who was working on biological protection from radiation within the framework of work on the atomic bomb? Zavenyagin evaluated the fact that the Bison "... remained, awaiting the arrival of our army, and kept Riel and his associates." If he kept Riel, then Riel was subordinate to him. Let us read about Riel in the novella: "In the first years of fascism Riel was inspired by the possibilities which opened up before him. From 1939 he helped the Bison in his radiation research..."

When the Bison decided to help I. Panshin get a job, he "... came to an agreement on setting up something like branch labs in other institutions. Thus, he sent Igor Borisovich Panshin to the **Auergesellschaft Concern.** Does this mean that there was a branch laboratory of the genetics department headed by the Bison in this firm? But, according to the novella, the firm was working on the uranium problem for the atomic bomb. It was not a coincidence that the Bison sent Panshin precisely to Riel "with an official application for work." After moving from Buch to the Urals with his whole laboratory and with Riel himself after the war, the Bison immediately started working on the problem of radiation protection within the framework of the Soviet atomic bomb project. D. Granin does not hide that: "The work of the Bison and his colleagues will serve biological protection from radiation and the consequences of the bomb."

What is this? Were there no specialists to be found in the Soviet Union, so that in the very harshest Stalinist years a man was called back and his refusal of repatriation and his wartime work for the Germans were forgiven, a man who had never before worked on the biological aspect of the atomic problem?

After all that he has said, D. Granin begins to assert that "... the genetics laboratory was not one of the important projects. They were tinkering with some little flies and had no special tasks. But these little flies interested Zavenyagin so much that he almost burst into Buch with troops.

Let us open the book by the American researcher D. Irving "Virusnyy fligel" [The Virus Wing] (Moscow. Atomizdat. 1969). Its author worked for several years in Germany gathering documents on the creation of nuclear weapons in Germany. We read: "In Germany attention was devoted to genetic consequences and research was even done on the impact of neutrons and other penetrating radiation. From 1943 until the end of the war both the ministry of war and the plenipotentiary for nuclear physics made several contracts to study this question. For the most part the genetics department of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin-Buch conducted the research." As we know, Timofeyev-Resovskiy was the head of the genetics department for all those years. That is why they set up a branch laboratory at the uranium plant of the Auergesellschaft Firm, that is why people even from the concentration camps were assigned so lavishly, and that is why the Gestapo representative was sidestepped.

Were these contracts concluded between the Bison and the ministry of war and the plenipotentiary for nuclear physics?

If the American researcher is mistaken, in the **documentary book** "The Bison" D. Granin should have told about the erroneous assertions of the book "The Virus Wing," which anyone can easily take out of the library and read.

Professor G. A. Sereda, winner of the USSR State Prize and doctor of chemical sciences, sent me his notes on the novella "The Bison." He mentions a multitude of mistakes in the novella "The Bison":

"The point is that I was director of the institute in which Timofeyev-Resovskiy worked after the war. When the institute was eliminated, Timofeyev-Resovskiy's conviction was expunged (but he was not rehabilitated), just so he would have the opportunity to do scientific work and not be exiled to Siberia according to the practice of the time. This was taken care of by A. Zavenyagin, the deputy minister and a remarkable man, who rescued Timofeyev, the scientist. Granin represents Timofeyev as a victim. But he was not a victim; he was a guilty man whom the Motherland pardoned. And Timofeyev-Resovskiy knew that very well. Granin refers to the evidence of Colonel Uralets, who at that time was supposedly director of that secret institute where Timofeyev-Resovskiy worked. But in fact by the time described I had been head of the institute for 3 years."

In G. A. Sereda's notes it is not Granin's mistakes, even serious and intolerable ones in the story of a real person, which interest me, but the allusions to two articles by Timofeyev-Resovskiy in 1941-1942 published in German scientific journals. These articles correspond to the quotation from the book by the American D. Irving.

When I wrote that Timofeyev-Resovskiy worked on the problem of the bomb, I naturally meant the biological aspects of this problem. I received the most unexpected

confirmation. That same I. Panshin repeatedly mentioned in "The Bison" and then in my article sent me a letter. To the credit of the Bison he states, and justifiably, that the scientist with all his associates remained in Berlin-Buch until the arrival of Soviet troops. "Riel with his technological formulations of plutonium and, therefore, also Timofeyev-Resovskiy, without whom there would have been no Riel, speeded up the first Soviet atomic explosion by several months, days, or seconds." Everything is correct, but what if the war had gone on even longer and the Soviet troops had not taken Berlin-Buch?

And later on in I. Panshin's letter: "All the work related to the uranium project was overseen by the SS, and that also provided the opportunity to be free of the war office—I had first-class SS armor. And what is even more, Timofeyev-Resovskiy once concluded a discussion of the alternatives Russia or America: 'Perhaps you are right, but bear in mind that you and I would be equated with something like SS officers!' There were only 10 or 12 scientific associates in Timofeyev-Resovskiy's genetics department and of them two were German men (both soldiers), one a German woman, and the rest Russians and other foreigners."

The first works of Timofeyev-Resovskiy, Zimmer, and Born on the problems of biological action of radioactivity were published in the press from 1939 through 1942. But then until the end of the war all the subjects of work by the genetics department were made secret. According to the data of the historian S. Ivanov, three secret reports of the genetics department are known and they are numbered 220, 221, and 222 in the list "German Secret Works on the Use of Nuclear Energy During World War II of 1939-1945." But this same historian asserts that "the great importance which the Nazi powers attributed to Timofeyev-Resovskiy's research was apparent even before their decision to evacuate the department as essential for defense needs."

Did the scientist take a risk by staying with his whole collective in Buch? Yes, he did. Did he help the formulation of our "atomic problem"? Undoubtedly. Did other German atomic experts and missile experts brought to the USSR help? Just as those who were taken by American special services helped the United States. But is Von Braun an American patriot? Let us note that the Bison's close comrade-in-arms K. G. Zimmer, who worked in the Urals for an agreed-upon time, in 1957 became head of the Institute of Radiation Biology in the West German Karlsruhe nuclear center. He worked as much as the Bison on our "atomic problem," and before this worked on top secret subjects in Timofeyev-Resovskiy's laboratory in Buch. So then, is he a Soviet patriot?

The saddest thing is that the authors of the letter in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA know about D. Irving's book "The Virus Wing" and know about the article from the 1942 German journal and know about the notes of

Professor G. A. Sereda. Then why did the respected scientists not dispute the authenticity of the cases and why did they not give their interpretation of the documents but simply ignored them? Following Lysenko's "scientific methodology," which they dislike, that if cases are not corroborated, so much the worse for the cases?

Let us turn once more to the 1942 article in connection with the notes of G. A. Sereda. "Until recently," the scientist writes, "I did not believe the talk about Timofeyev-Resovskiy's participation in experiments on people and was astonished when I became familiar with the article by Timofeyev-Resovskiy, Born, and Zimmer published in 1942 (*NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN*, No 40, Vol 30, 1942). It cites the results of experiments on people. And, what experiments? The isotope Radium-224 (Thorium-X) was injected into their veins and it was used to study the rate of blood flow. Radium-224 is a very powerful alpha emitter. It decays virtually completely in a month (10 half-lives). In order to determine the alpha emission by the methods which existed at that time a large quantity of Radium-224 had to be injected into the vein. The result of these experiments is unequivocal—either cancer of the blood or cancer of the bones, since radium precipitates into the bones. It is also clear upon whom they did the experiments. They would hardly have used Germans for this purpose."

Now it has become clearer to me why the authors of the letter inform the readers that many historians and scientists "... studied the cases of cooperation of scientists and medical experts with the Nazis, including experiments on people. N. V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy's name is not on the list." For nowhere in "Essays on Literary Morals" did I allude to such a thing, because I did not know myself. I remembered a sentence from Granin's novella: "A great many people left the institute. **Several doctors committed suicide.** Kolyusha (the Bison—Bondarenko) gave himself the title 'director of the institute.' That was naive and fraught with consequences, for Kolyusha did not know the whole institute and did not know **what was happening** in the hospitals..."

Those are the harmless little flies in quiet, unknown Buch. So, Granin asserts that these were not quite peaceful hospitals in the institute system and several doctors of these hospitals killed themselves in fear of the arrival of the Soviet troops. And, moreover, Thorium-X, which was injected into the vein of a person's right elbow, is known to us from the novella. Are they not from the stocks which Riel plundered all over occupied Europe?

Did Timofeyev-Resovskiy possibly use completed data from the experiments done in these hospitals which frightened Granin?

Were there perhaps volunteers among the German associates who even in 1942 sacrificed themselves in the name of science?

Did Professor G. A. Sereda, who headed the atomic energy department at the institute, perhaps exaggerate the danger of such experiments? And do the doses cited in the article perhaps not have harmful consequences?

As far as I know, there is no threshold dose of radiation below which there is no danger of cancer diseases.

My opponents refer to the supposition that the 1942 article cites experiments from another article. Let us glance at it as well. Anticipating publication of the data, Gerlach, Wolf, and Born report: "The work was done in the genetics department of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute headed by N. V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy and in the radiology department of the AUER society headed by Doctor Wolf."

Regardless of N. V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy's wishes, his life is today offered as a model for imitation. And together with apologies for his life path, moral relativism is asserted, which is seen in the novella, in the letter to the editor, in the discussion for the film "Concerning the Bison," and in the meeting of like-minded people during the *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* roundtable discussion. And for some reason they call being aware of this engaging in polemics.

Even if all the other questions were gone, the fact of working as the head of a major scientific department in the heart of Germany in those years when millions of his compatriots were dying on the fronts raises doubts about his moral authority. I think that N. V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy himself understood this very well. He held things inside himself his whole life; he was tortured internally his whole life. The last question which remains is the following:

How would he himself have regarded such a stir about him?

Alas, no one today is permitted to cite facts that are unfavorable to the scientist, even absolutely accurate facts. You will immediately be thought to be an informer. Even his defender I. Panshin was compelled to admit: "D. Granin borrowed material from my 50 pages of memoirs in a very arbitrary way and in addition availed himself only of that which favored the person of the Bison; as a result some places came out just the opposite of what they were and are incomprehensible..."

That is the point, that the argument is not over the fate of this particular scientist. Let us think whether he himself needed people to write about him like this: "This is a mirror for us, a litmus paper—the phenomenon of Timofeyev-Resovskiy. Our society must grow to reach Timofeyev-Resovskiy's level. And when it does grow and change, it will be only this society of free people that can rehabilitate him..." The author of these words, the film director Ye. Sakanyan, does not even try to guess what a

terrible accusation she is making against the entire country and how far from sincere concern for the scientist himself these words are.

To put it precisely, we must define the phenomenon by which the society's level of freedom is tested. Ye. Sakan-yan does not even notice that according to her words the "society of free people" is fascist Germany, which unlike the Soviet Union, "grew to reach Timofeyev-Resovskiy's level." It is not in vain that in his article entitled "The Breeding of Aryans," American journalist T. Ellinger writes that almost all the famous geneticists left Germany, but the Russian scientist Timofeyev-Resovskiy was valued very highly (ZHURNAL NASLEDVEN-NOSTI, Vol 33, No 4, 1942).

The disputes "about the Bison" will hardly subside quickly, for this litmus paper is the phenomenon of people who worked with talent for the enemy during its war against their own Fatherland. I, for example, am very interested in the reaction of Germans, both East Germans and West Germans, to this novella. And to this phenomenon.

It is being recommended that society should reorient itself to other heroes. What kept General Karbyshev from going to work in a German construction firm? The next thing you know, today he would have been a hero of the "society of free people." And so he would stay that in a virtually Stalinist age. But let us separate the dramatic fate of a particular scientist who took the path of cognition and repentance from that unnecessary "phenomenon" which society should bow to. He hardly expected such a posthumous trial himself. It is becoming more and more clear that our public reaction is also being tested on the phenomenon of Timofeyev-Resovskiy, who is represented as a worthy citizen, a patriot, and a measure of society. Are all the concepts mixed up enough? Has the theory of moral relativity triumphed?

The great idea of MERCY which is so essential to our society seems to have been turned inside out. It is one thing to pardon some of our soldiers who fought in Afghanistan for voluntarily going over to the side of the Dushmans, to do everything possible to return them to the Motherland and help them feel themselves to be Soviet citizens. But it is something else again to present them as HEROES, publish numerous interviews, and even give them awards and make them chairmen of associations of internationalist soldiers. Such a noisy campaign has nothing to do with the idea of MERCY. The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent was right when he compared the broken fate of the experienced regimental commander who was demoted because of desertions from his unit with the presently successful fate of the deserter himself, whom our press now treats with such affection.

MERCY, but not eulogizing TREACHERY.

That is why in many respects I do not agree with G. Kumanev, the author of the article in PRAVDA on the fate of Ivan Dobrobabin, one of the 28 Panfilovites. And in it I see eulogizing replacing mercy. Ivan Dobrobabin fought valiantly in the military ranks, but then he was captured and was ransomed by his relatives. He was compelled to make a personal choice, not as part of a group, but alone and for himself. He went to the quisling police. They did not shoot him and they did not hang him, but this was because "there were no incidents of shootings or hangings in our village." Of his many fellow villagers he ended up among the few. Even in speaking harshly at a meeting, you make a choice, you think over the action. Service in the quisling police is a legal step.

In March 1943 our army liberated the village. "Based on a false accusation by a member of the quisling police from a neighboring village, he along with other policemen was arrested and delivered to army counterintelligence." Ponder the language Professor Kumanev used. The person who informed Soviet counterintelligence about all the members of the quisling police made a "false accusation." Now they will write: some people were exposed by the "false accusations" of Sorge, others by the "false accusations" of the famous intelligence officer Medvedev. Even today "unfortunate" members of punitive expeditions are being sought in Belorussia and throughout the world—"based on false accusations." But how many Gestapo officers were killed "based on false accusations?" If it happened in Stalin's time, then they are all victims of Stalinism. Perhaps we should erect a statue to the victims of the Nuremberg Trial, to the slandered Vlasovites?

But I am thinking of something else. Ivan Dobrobabin ended up at army counterintelligence and could have been shot immediately in the heat of the moment, especially during the counterattack of the Germans. What did he think about at counterintelligence?

"Suddenly fascist tanks burst into the village." The members of the quisling police were lucky and the Germans freed them. For a second time Ivan Dobrobabin makes a personal choice. I cannot decide for him: should he go to the partisans or flee along with our counterintelligence people (for they did disappear somewhere), be killed along with them, flee a little further. I do not know. Just as I do not know about myself, how I would have behaved in that situation. I am starting from a simple fact: the second time he makes a choice and again joins the quisling police. But this is the hero of Vasilii Bykov's stories—"Sotnikov"—and others, where the man's path to joining the quisling police is investigated. I am interested in Vasilii Bykov's opinion or Ales Adamovich's opinion of this essay. For Rybak fought in the ranks much better than Sotnikov, an incompetent military "lifer."

I also understand something else: the problem of the Vlasovites and the quisling police is very complex, and not as unambiguous as we thought. About a million

former Soviet citizens served in military formations on the enemy side. Obviously, you cannot explain this simply as treachery; for some people this was a continuation of the civil war. But, except for deliberately dispatched Soviet agents, all the rest in one way or another **made a conscious choice** in favor of the enemy of your Motherland. The following sentence is a portentous one for PRAVDA: "forced, disguised time spent in the role of rural policeman." I will take this further—in the role of a Vlasovite, in the role of a Banderovite, in the role of a member of Dirlevanger's punitive battalion. Who can tell a disguised policeman from an undisguised one? Why do they shoot the young boy, a rural policeman, in the movie "Test on the Roads"? Perhaps he is disguised. Professor G. Kumanev should understand that if service in the German ranks, from the rural policeman to the guard battalions, is not by itself somehow reprehensible, somehow immoral, or somehow legally punishable today, then according to the presumption of innocence everyone who is not convicted of specific murders and the like, who only served in German occupation units, should not be ashamed of it.

The point is not one particular person. How does the quisling policeman from the neighboring village differ from Dobrobabin? That he "informed" Soviet counter-intelligence?

I am with those who in behalf of the idea of MERCY help people, even those who at one time somehow make a mistake. I am for Ivan Dobrobabin having a normal life. But, I am sorry, but the professor's proposal that a steamship named after Ivan Dobrobabin sail the seas and oceans jars upon me.

In my democratic view, the complete rehabilitation which G. Kumanev insists upon is possible—with the complete rehabilitation of all who served in the most diverse occupation formations—if their participation in particular crimes is not proven. If service itself on the side of the enemy is not to be considered a crime.

I am sorry that neither Timofeyev-Resovskiy's relatives nor people who at some time made a mistake but today have consciously forgotten about it do not understand that what is being extolled and praised is not them but the **principle of moral relativity**. There is nothing good, there is nothing bad, there is no Motherland, there is no duty, there is no oath of allegiance, there is nothing sacred. But if there is no one who has fallen, then there is no mercy for them. Mercy itself becomes meaningless. It does not mean memorials to those who fell.

Moscow's Growth Related to Multiple Problems
18000865 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences E. B. Alayev by A. Drozdov: "It's Fine Above the Moscow River... The Capital City and Its Problems"]

[Text] [Drozdov] Enrid Borisovich, as an economist and geographer you have spent many years studying the social and economic problems of the city of Moscow and (as they now say) the Moscow Capital City Region. In your opinion, what problems distinct from those of the rest of the country's territory are of concern to Muscovites today?

[Alayev] They are probably not all that different from those facing all our people. The "burning" issues are approximately the same: providing every family with a separate apartment by the year 2000, improving health care, cleaning up the social environment and controlling crime, improving transport and consumer services, and so on. In Moscow, certain of these problems are a shade more critical while others are less so. What is disturbing is that despite all our efforts, these problems are not "melting away," and many of them are getting worse. Thus, Moscow has lost its position of leadership with respect to supplying food and industrial goods, although many visitors from outlying areas still come into the capital city and are astonished to see store shelves untypically empty.... The fact is that although supplies still remain at the same level or even higher, Moscow's population is growing constantly and now stands at close to 9 million according to official data. There are 112 out of 172 countries in the world that have populations smaller than Moscow. Naturally, this is causing the territory of the city to spread outward. Since the recent incorporation of the so-called reserve territories outside the beltway into the city limits, the total area of Moscow now stands at over 1000 square kilometers. This constant and practically uncontrolled population growth—about 90,000 persons every year—is one of the main reasons for the increasing difficulty of dealing with Muscovites' social problems. Unfortunately, not much attention is being focused on this fact. I examined the materials of the 27th Moscow City Party Organization Conference that was held in January of this year and did not find even a mention of this problem in the speeches by the delegates.

[Drozdov] In fact, Lenin himself took a negative attitude toward the unnatural build-up of population in major cities—and he spoke of it when Moscow's population numbered less than 2 million. But there are other cities bigger than Moscow, for example New York or Tokyo.... What danger is posed by the extraordinary growth of capital cities?

[Alayev] First of all, when comparing Moscow with the largest cities in the developed capitalist countries it is essential to focus not on size but on dynamics. The cities

you listed, as well as Paris, Chicago, Montreal, and others, have long since stopped growing in population, and some are even declining. But Moscow continues to swell, and in doing so is copying the capital cities of the developing countries, and a comparison like that can hardly gratify us. As for any dangers posed by the extraordinary growth of the capital city and region, in the second place, they are quite obvious to the inhabitants themselves. The ecology is deteriorating, and it is becoming more difficult to supply not only food but also other products and services.... Consider the supply of fresh water, for example. The main difficulty facing water system workers, as was stated by A. S. Matrosov, chief of the capital city's administration of water and sewers, is the fact that "they are always 'racing' to keep pace with the growth of the city and its needs." Some economists claim that as the city grows in size it becomes relatively less expensive to provide the inhabitants with services, but in the case of Moscow this is not confirmed. For example, our subway has been operating on a subsidy for a long time, although there was a time when it paid for itself. In short, if we were to survey everyone connected with Moscow's services, and the inhabitants themselves, everyone would be against further growth. There is only one category of people who welcome this process: the criminal world. It is much more difficult to enforce law and order in a large city, and a neologism has now found its place in the vocabulary of the capital city's law enforcement organs—"guest artists"; that's what they call criminals who come from all parts of the country to the metropolis of Moscow.

[Drozdov] I believe that numerous decrees have been passed to restrict the growth of Moscow....

[Alayev] Yes, the first one was passed back in 1931....

[Drozdov] And we might also mention the special residence permit regulations in the capital city....

[Alayev] Passport regulations are not doing what they are supposed to do. There are at least six techniques for getting around them if someone wants to become a Muscovite.

[Drozdov] What are they?

[Alayev] Those who need to know already do. I can even refer you to the popular Canadian journal CANADIAN GEOGRAPHER No 1, 1979. A writer there has explained all these techniques in detail. So you see, the Moscow growth phenomenon enjoys "world" renown. But it is not a matter of prohibitory administrative measures; they hardly ever work as one expects. The point is that there are objective factors fostering the growth of the population in the capital city, certain "growth mechanisms" of Moscow. They operate inexorably, and unless we eliminate or diminish their potential we will never cope with the task of restricting the city's growth.

[Drozdov] But as we know, state institutions are being considerably cut back, the number of persons employed in industry is being reduced, a number of ministries have been abolished, and some unviable institutes are being liquidated. Doesn't this constitute an inhibiting factor?

[Alayev] Of course, but for every "liquidated" institution I can name you one and sometimes even two new ones that have sprung up recently. How about the five new central banks, and how about the Ministry of Atomic Power? How about the All-Union Children's Park? That will create at least 1000 jobs. And why is this park in Moscow? We don't have any good children's parks for the kids of Moscow, but there were some before the war.... Do you like freestyle [fristayl]? So do I. But why do we need to build a freestyle stadium in Moscow? It adds up to another hundred or so jobs.... I am convinced that the persons responsible for the city's development are dedicated to unrestrained rather than restricted growth.

[Drozdov] What do you base that assertion on?

[Alayev] Take the case of illuminated street signs: By the most modest estimates, they will consume over a million kilowatt-hours of electricity. But that's not the main point. It requires a whole new service—electricians, operations workers, and so on. The street signs we had before didn't need any maintenance—maybe you remember, the kind with white lettering on blue enamel? Incidentally, they were copied from the street signs in Paris, and the ones in Paris are still in place. What benefit has the innovation brought? Nothing but new expenditures and jobs, and finding the right street or building in Moscow is not as hard as it was before. Or consider the new shelters at public transport stops—very moderne, "steel and glass".... And we've had 20 years of warfare between the vandals, who regularly break the glass out of the shelters, and the Moscow Transport Administration, and it is not in the favor of the latter. But a special service had to be created. What is most curious is that the construction of the new shelters has not served to improve transport services in Moscow.

[Drozdov] This problem is familiar to Moscow's leaders. In their statements they are always talking about a major increase in capital investments in Moscow transport. Thus, the pace of subway construction is being practically doubled.

[Alayev] But by what means? Extensive ones! What was prohibited in 1987, namely the importing of manpower, with limits set on residency, is again permitted, to the tune of 18,000 persons. What does this mean? It means that that number of Muscovites will fall out of the "separate apartment for every family by the year 2000" program. It adds up to 80 14-story buildings over and above the program! It will produce a shortage of about 100 construction workers and about 3000 workers in other service spheres, so that those 18,000 have now grown to 22,000. Over 300 million rubles will have to be

spent on them (14,300 per person). Wouldn't it be better to use these funds—in much smaller amounts—to stimulate the construction of the subway so that Muscovites can ride it? Any use of extensive means of dealing with "bottlenecks" traps us in a vicious circle. The same thing can be said about any attempt to deal with the capital city's water problem by bringing in outside resources, e.g. the construction of the Rzhev Hydrocomplex.

[Drozdov] Would moving ecologically dangerous industries outside the city help to restrain Moscow's growth and also solve ecological problems?

[Alayev] Moving polluting enterprises outside of Moscow has been going on a long time (earlier, before the word "ecology" came to have its present meaning, they were called "hazardous in terms of sanitation"). I was an early advocate of that policy. But I say now that in a year or two, three years maximum, this policy will be completely passe. In the long run, it must also be classified as extensive. Where can you move them? To what city? Who's going to accept an ecologically damaging enterprise? Nobody. Look how the environment for living has deteriorated in Zagorsk, and especially in Mtsensk—and all for the sake of getting them out of Moscow.

[Drozdov] You have touched upon problems of the ecology. As a representative of the Geography Institute, which according to your own statement is supposed to deal with these problems, what can you tell us about its contribution toward solving them?

[Alayev] What have we managed to do recently? First, we designated the region as a separate "item" in the plan; starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, "Moscow and Moscow Oblast" (like Leningrad and its oblast) are singled out as separate objects of planning. We have prepared a report on the basic "conflict" situations. But our first appearance given on the basis of this report before Moscow city planners and economists (in December 1981) brought it about that they stopped inviting us to take part in assessing Moscow plans and programs. It was "calmer" without us. To be sure, the situation is changing now. By decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the new Master Plan for the Development of Moscow and Moscow Oblast in the Period Through 2010 is supposed to be subject to public discussion, and this has already been started. The basic components are already on display for public inspection in the exhibition hall of Glavmosarkhitektura. The draft of the Master Plan has been published in the press, along with commentary on it. I am gratified to note that a major condition stipulated in the plan by its authors is Muscovites' demand that the city not be allowed to grow dangerously beyond its established limits. It is a good idea. But there are worries. There have been plenty of excellent ideas in the past, but not very many of them have come to fruition. For this reason, I believe that one of the most important legal guarantees that the Master

Plan will be carried out is the elimination of pressure on the part of the departments and the strengthening of the Moscow Soviet's influence on processes going on in the city.

Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom Addresses Housing Problem

*1800720 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
28 Mar 89 p 4*

[Article by S. Davydov, TASS correspondent: "Inventors of Housewarmings: How State Brokers Are Crowding Out Private Ones"]

[Text] The critical article directed at the City Housing Exchange and published in VECHERNYY LENINGRAD over the signature of Retired Colonel V. Larichev served the author as the best recommendation for designating one of the leaders of this service. The arguments of the "man on the sidelines" turned out to be consonant with the desire of the staff members of the administration for registering and distributing housing space of the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom to reorient the activity of the exchange offices toward implementing the "Housing-2000" Program. The novice was provided with support, and, as a result, the city on the Neva River witnessed the organization of a powerful group of state brokers who, for a modest fee, help city-dwellers to improve their housing conditions by means of an exchange. During the first few months of its operation more than a hundred families moved from communal apartments to individual ones, while the names of many Leningraders were removed from the waiting lists. And all this was in addition to the housewarmings of the planned housing program.

"I felt the lack of such an important service as help in exchanging housing space in my own case when I spent almost a year riding around looking for a suitable variant. While doing this, I was on the City Housing Exchange's registry all the time, but, of course, I found what I needed on my own. Then the following thought occurred to me: Just what do the considerable number of people on the Ispolkom's staff do besides fill out documents? And really, couldn't the city authorities compete with the brokers who earn tens of thousands of rubles for a service which many people need?" V. Larichev related.

Let's note that the person having these thoughts is a former instructor at an artillery school at a fine scientific center with a penchant for the theories of errors and probabilities, cybernetics, combinations, and other analogous disciplines, mastered during his years of service. Now these skills are also being mastered by the employees of the Center for Inspection and Automated Selection, which opened up, not by accident, right opposite the city's well-known "point" on Peace Square. Vyacheslav Semenovitch sees his competitors—the notorious "beetles" and "brokers" every day from his office window. He does not hesitate, nor is he ashamed, to learn from them, translating their keen, businesslike

saavy into the powerful computer which has made its appearance at the cost-accounting center. Furthermore, the "point" itself, on its own initiative and with the aid of the Rayon Soviet Ispolkom, is undergoing a transformation: it has been decided to pave the square with asphalt, and set up special bulletin boards here and even decorate them somewhat.

"If a path has been laid somewhere, we must not cover it up but rather improve it," confidently states the new deputy chief of the City Housing Exchange. "People hang their announcements in the wrong places because there are no suitable ones. And we must not throw away these bits of paper but instead extract the information from them necessary to fill up the electronic memory."

Now employed at the new center are eight brigades of inspectors with three persons in each. They "conduct" a city-dweller from the point where he hands in his application for an exchange to the issuing of an authorization. The Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom has allocated a number of rooms for these needs, rooms which have been vacated in communal apartments, and, beginning this year, 50 apartments as well; they are used by the inspectors for constructing exchange "chains." The fees range from 100 to 150 rubles, a portion of which goes into providing incentives for the state brokers. They are stimulated by a striving to settle as many communal apartments as possible, convert them into individual apartments, and help to shorten the line waiting for housing. And here is the main difference between the Center and the numerous cooperatives and individuals engaged in this business. The latter key primarily on "fat cats," who will pay any price to enlarge their already quite good living space.

The Automated Center is expanding, and for this purpose, the plans are to assemble together those employees who are now scattered about through the rayon-level housing exchange offices and who have been engaged up to the present merely in filling out authorizations for almost a token wage of 115 rubles. But the earnings of the inspectors on Peace Square during successful months amount to 600 rubles. However, the fear remains that these people, who have gone through an excellent theoretical and practical training will leave for the cooperatives, where their pay would be even higher. So far there is only one solution—to accept for work here honest people who are sincerely interested in their work, which allows them to solve an important social problem with a minimum of expenditures. After all, in no other city in this country do so many families live in communal apartments as in Leningrad—600,000.

By the new decisions of the Leningrad Ispolkom, the rooms now being freed up in the resettled apartments are not being settled but are being turned over to the remaining inhabitants. More and more frequently authorizations for new apartments are being received by those in the line but also by their neighbors. And large

families are settling into the former communal apartments. All this allowed us to allocate more than 10,000 individual apartments last year alone.

More difficult to implement is the principal innovation which the staff members of the Housing Space Registration and Distribution Administration are working on—to bring “apartmentography” in line with the existing demographic situation. We need to construct more one- and two-room apartments in the city instead of many-room apartments, which must all too often be converted into communal apartments again. If the local authorities manage to overcome the interests of the construction departments, for who small apartments are “unprofitable,” the enthusiasts for exchange will have new prospects opening up in front of them for very quickly eliminating the housing problem with an intelligent redistribution of space.

RSFSR Housing Renovation Effort Found Underfinanced

18000864 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Apr 89 p 1

[Interview with L. Zapalskiy, deputy chairman of RSFSR Gosplan, by G. Podlesskikh: “House Under Repairs”]

[Text] Winter is behind us, and the most favorable period is upon us for carrying out repair work on housing and municipal buildings. What is being done to keep the republic's housing inventory and municipal buildings in good working order? The editors asked RSFSR Deputy Gosplan Chairman Leonid Aleksandrovich Zapalskiy to tell us about it.

[Podlesskikh] Before meeting with you I read through several letters. For example, K. Bannikov of Barnaul writes: “Our building is totally dilapidated (the technical inventory office states that it is 60 percent depreciated). It's cold in our home, the walls freeze through, and everything is in disrepair. Because of this, our child is always ailing. The only response we get to all our complaints is form letters. What are we supposed to do?” N. Bondar from Tynda writes: “The apartments are damp all year long, with water on the floor; we have to walk around in rubber boots. But what about the children, when it's 50 degrees below zero right outside the window?” There are many such bitter complaints in letters to the editor. By all appearances, the problem of housing maintenance and repair is an urgent one. Are things changing for the better?

[Zapalskiy] These and many other letters have raised valid issues with respect to improving the operation and repairs of residential buildings. Unfortunately, the state of the organization, reliability, and quality of this work is not yet up to the standards of perestroika and the decisions of the party and the government. Hence, there are no grounds for satisfactory assessment of things. In Russia today more than 120 million square meters of

housing space need urgent repairs. A total of 170 million square meters of communal apartments need to be re-equipped, and another 40 million square meters need to be modernized.

Accomplishing these substantial volumes of work will require decisive changes in the organization of residential repairs. Already, the annual removal of old housing totals about 10 percent of the amount of new housing that goes into operation. If this goes along much longer, in around 10 years we will not be able to introduce new housing construction. All manpower and funding will be channeled into emergency repairs. The main reason for this alarming situation is that the amount of funds allocated for housing repairs in the republic is about 1.5 to 2 times less than is necessary. For this reason, a large portion of the work that is done is classified as so-called cosmetic repairs, just patch it up any old way, touch it up. As a result, the average annual level of improvement of the urban socialized housing inventory is rising by just 1 percent. This, despite the fact that one fifth of the urban housing inventory of Russia has yet to be provided with the amenities, and in the smaller towns one half of residential buildings are not equipped with utilities [kommunalnoye obustroystvo].

About two years ago, the directive organs passed a special decree dealing directly with the need to improve the remodeling and major repairs of residential buildings. In 1990, plans call for bringing the volume of capital repairs to residential buildings up to normative requirements and raising the volume of remodeling to between 10 and 12 million square meters of living space. By the year 2000, communal apartments are to be re-equipped to accommodate individual families. At present rates, however, this is not going to be accomplished. Why not? In accordance with the decree mentioned above, USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and USSR Gosbank were supposed to institute a unified procedure in 1987 for the planning and financing of the remodeling of residential buildings and social-cultural facilities out of state capital investments. But because this procedure was not instituted, volumes of work on capital repairs to housing inventories have remained practically unchanged both in 1988 and 1989 and, for example, these volumes remained 1.5 times lower than normatives for housing administered by local soviets. To a large extent this is due to the inadequate industrial base of the repair-construction organizations, whose fixed capital-per-worker ratio is several times lower than that of construction workers. So far, moreover, capital investments in the development of the repair-construction base are 2.5 times less than the necessary minimum allocations.

It also needs to be said that current supplies of material-technical resources to the repair-construction organizations are hindering the development of the effort and simply cannot be tolerated any longer. Thus, by a decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers dated 20 November 1986, the

RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Civil Construction—the main implementing agency of housing repair and construction in the RSFSR—is given equal status with the general construction ministries in terms of supplies of resources. On the average, however, it is being allocated 30 percent less. At this point, it's up to USSR Gosplan and USSR Gossnab.

Of course, housing repairs should also involve the efforts of all organizations of all-union contractual ministries [podryadnyye ministerstva]. It is necessary to use up to 10 percent of the capacity of the housing construction combines to remodel large-panel residential buildings of the first mass series [pervyye massovyye serii]. This will require working out measures which will get contractors economically interested. For example, all profits earned from these services should be left at their disposal for material incentives.

[Podlesskikh] After all, people also pay their rent for communal services in hopes that the money will go for housing repairs and improvements....

[Zapalskiy] The housing operation organizations are in a difficult financial situation today. Expenditures on the maintenance of residential buildings have increased five-fold in the past 10 years in connection with increased improvements and numbers of stories, but the sources of financing have remained the same. Revenues from rents and budget appropriations are not covering even the minimal needs of routine repairs. At the same time, communal services (water, electricity, and gas), which are very profitable and earn substantial revenues, are going into the budget and play practically no part in improving the maintenance of the utility lines in residential buildings. Converting housing and communal operations to full cost accounting [khozraschet] should yield positive results. Radical changes in the financing conditions for the repair and operation of the housing inventory will be facilitated by instituting permanent norms by which enterprises and organizations contribute a portion of their funds to republic and local budgets.

Up to now, unfortunately, the quality of construction materials and components does not meet the requirements of housing operations. Because of the low quality of the plumbing installations in new residential buildings alone, up to 20 percent of the drinking water is discharged into the sewer system without ever being used. This despite the fact that almost one third of the major cities today are experiencing a shortage of drinking water or are receiving it on a schedule basis. The RSFSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry and other ministries whose enterprises manufacture this equipment ought to take steps to improve the quality of plumbing equipment, and the USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry needs to upgrade the quality and durability

of manufactured rubber products intended as components for that equipment. The Scientific-Research Institute for Sanitation Engineering, under the USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, has a monopoly in this matter but seems to play no visible role. Practically tested, reliable engineering applications are being adopted at a very slow pace. Yet losses from replacing and repairing absolutely worthless faucets come to around 800 million rubles annually.

Also alarming is the fact that in the past three years about one billion rubles' worth of state capital investments in housing and communal projects of Russia have gone unassimilated. As a result, plan targets have not been completed with respect to the construction of residential buildings in particular regions, also water and sewer systems, boiler heating systems, and a number of other housing and utility projects. These projects have yet to be given priority by the contracting organizations of the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR, the Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR, the Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR, and the Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions of the USSR.

[Podlesskikh] What practical measures are envisioned for eliminating the "secondary status" of the sphere of communal services?

[Zapalskiy] It is difficult to count on any radical changes in this regard unless we achieve the goal that was stated at the 27th Party Congress: namely, that of cutting the construction investment cycle [investitsionnyy srok] in half. The way resources are being squandered, funds are inadequate even for the necessities. We must resolutely break the stubborn resistance of ministries and departments which are only interested in endlessly "breaking ground" for new projects. And we must begin, finally, to deny ourselves those things we can get along without. Without a roof over our head, a reliable and comfortable home, water and heating—in short, normal living conditions that play such a big role in the mood and health of millions of people—we cannot go on. This is why we are insisting on making changes in the structure of the capital investment plan. This year, 4.6 billion rubles of capital investments are being shifted from industrial construction to the development of the social sphere in the RSFSR. In particular, the RSFSR Council of Ministers has examined the problem of improving the republic's water supply systems through the year 1995 and has set specific targets for the construction of water supply systems and the rational use of drinking water. Capital investments for these purposes come to about three billion rubles and, naturally, will require a substantial increase in the capacity of the specialized construction organizations. A decree was passed in March of this year concerning the creation of a unified organ in the Russian Federation for the planning, construction, and operation of gas pipelines and facilities, to be known as Rosstroygazifikatsiya.

Today everyone is aware that any neglect of the development of the sphere of housing and services can result in large economic and social-political losses. We must learn a serious lesson from the discouraging results of past years both in the Center and in the outlying areas.

Leningrad Consortium On Housing Construction Meets

18000823 *Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian* 28 Mar 89 p 1

["Meet the Construction Committee"]

[Text] To ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the Housing-2000 program and to eliminate the lag in the construction of social sphere facilities—Leningrad builders intend to solve these and other acute problems more energetically through a high-capacity construction industry "concern" that has been created in our city. More than 100 trusts, combines, institutes, enterprises, and organizations have been withdrawn from their ministries and departments and have united under the direction of the Leningrad Construction Committee. This organization will take orders from the oblast and city Soviets of Peoples Deputies and from central planning agencies and fill them under conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing.

The Leningrad Construction Committee's board of directors held its first session yesterday. It was opened by Yu. F. Solovyev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, who outlined the new organization's basic objectives and tasks.

The council session confirmed the structure of the administrative apparatus. In the process, the number of officials in the construction assembly line was reduced by more than 300 people. Yu. P. Kozhukhovskiy was elected chairman of the council of directors and head of the committee.

A correspondent for the Leningrad division of TASS asked the Leningrad Construction Committee's chairman to describe the plans of the "construction concern."

"With the help of the Leningrad party organization, we are only beginning an extensive set of changes in construction, so it will be necessary to speak more in the future tense," Yu. P. Kozhukhovskiy said.

"The committee's chief objective is to democratize administration, and through this democratization to create conditions for effective management and to develop independence and an enterprising spirit in labor collectives. The administrative apparatus organizes execution of the decisions of the council of directors and of central agencies. In its activities, it serves vis-a-vis the enterprises and organizations as a superior democratic agency established and financed by them.

"The committee has been granted a number of rights that will alter the relationship among the participants in the investment process: Contracting organizations will assume most of the functions involved in organizing the entire cycle, including planning, financing, design, construction, acquisition of engineering equipment, and provision of material and technical resources.

"As a result of these new relationships between contracting organizations and clients, of the elimination of departmental 'boundaries,' and of the creation of an infrastructure of service and intermediary organizations that make it possible to build facilities on a turnkey basis, we hope to reduce the duration of the investment cycle by 50% to 67%. We also anticipate substantial development of the capacity of contracting organizations and the construction and building materials base, and fuller use of the region's research and production potential.

"The Leningrad Construction Committee is the administrative agency for the entire construction complex of Leningrad and oblast, is a part of the USSR State Construction Committee, and operates on the basis of a two-tiered administrative system. By concentrating financial and material resources, it will be possible to create intrabranh and joint enterprises, including joint enterprises with foreign firms, and to bring about as a result self-sufficiency of resources for the regional capital construction program.

"The new committee's highest body is the council of directors, with a chairman elected for a fixed term. The council, which has substantial autonomy, will now assume full responsibility for implementing the construction part of the plan for the comprehensive economic and social development of Leningrad and oblast and for fulfilling assignments for the construction of national-economic facilities.

"The administrative apparatus intends to accomplish tasks that are common and essential to all the enterprises and organizations of the construction complex through the use of economic management methods. At the same time, matters assigned by legislation to the competence of state enterprises are excluded from the apparatus's activities. A special function of the committee will be to establish firm partnership ties with local Soviets in accomplishing the tasks of the region's social and economic development.

"In order to ensure continuous financing, the client-enterprises' funds are to be accumulated in a commercial, share-held temporary credit bank that is being established under the Leningrad Construction Committee's auspices. Contractors will be paid either as the work is completed or in advances prior to completion of a facility. This will make it possible to influence the contractors in a flexible and purposeful fashion and to give them a stake in the early turnover of completed facilities.

Leningrad Discussion Group Takes up Major Social, Economic Issues

18000847 Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA*

PANORAMA in Russian No 3, 1989 pp 2, 3, 23

[Round table conducted by Sergey Sobolev: "Getting to the Historical Truth"]

[Text] The time of "sensational" discoveries in understanding our socialist history is passing. Now scientists and representatives of the public are probing deeper and expanding the horizons of its research. This is not being done solely for the sake of restoring historical truth. Vladimir Ilich Lenin noted that "if we examine any social phenomenon in the process of its development, we will always find in it remnants of the past, the foundations of the present, and the seeds of the future."

The idea about the future of our Fatherland was at the focus of attention at the most recent meeting of the Leningradskaya Panorama Club during a discussion of the role and interaction between subjective and objective factors in our history. Is it necessary to ascribe the errors, shortcomings, oversights, and—in particular—the perversions of our recent past exclusively to the subjective strivings of particular people, the elements of the character of particular leaders of the party and the government? Or, contrariwise, were there objective factors in the development of our society which inevitably led to the mistakes and which inexorably influenced the activities of persons in power?

The discussion was participated in by Doctor of Economic Sciences **V. Ya. Yelmeyev**, Candidate of Technical Sciences **V. M. Zaznobin**, Candidate of Economic Sciences **M. V. Popov**, and Leningrad Commercial Port dockworker **K. V. Fedotov**.

Correspondent. Supposedly everyone agrees that historical development takes place in a law-governed manner [zakonomerno]. On the other hand, it turns out that frequently, negative actions and manifestations in social development by no means obey any laws. Why am I focusing immediately upon this question? Because most frequently we ascribe all negative consequences to the actions of particular persons. Explanations of this sort are frequently encountered in the pages of many periodical publications and on television and radio broadcasts. I would like the specialists to give their point of view on this.

V. Yelmeyev. Of course we cannot be satisfied with explanations of that sort, and we must examine the main factors which underlie economic and social relations, in particular economic relations.

I submit that a major factor is the developing system of money-exchange relations itself, the domination of cost relations. Since the start of the NEP [New Economic Policy], essentially, we have never abandoned money-exchange relations, and at present we are engaged in

expanding them further, assuming that they will help us to overcome existing shortcomings. It is by this that I account for the situation in which it has become unprofitable to meet people's reasonable needs; it is unprofitable to clothe and feed them inexpensively. On the other hand, it is convenient to meet needs which bring in the greatest profits—for example, to produce more wine and vodka, thereby making drunkards out of people and, similarly, utilizing another and no less profitable product, namely tobacco. Moreover, these money-exchange relations are increasingly eliminating from our life everything that used to be paid for out of social consumption funds and which we called the non-payment method of meeting needs.

Or consider the influence these relations have on scientific-technical progress, which as we know reduces the cost of production. But the need for the present economic mechanism is precisely in order to maintain or increase costs, because we have a colossal shortage of goods and prime necessities. Thus it becomes clear why artificial boundaries have been imposed on scientific-technical progress.

Cost relations are not mere inoffensive economic relations; they are primarily social relations reflecting the fact that one segment of society exists at the expense of another, larger segment. In the case of the developed countries, cost relations essentially entail this kind of inequality, the rise of a certain amount of social differentiation.

Therefore, if we extract cost relations and money-exchange mechanisms from the set of objective factors, what will the purely objective factors be? There are certain authors who are ready to lay all the responsibility on our socialist system, on socialism.

V. Zaznobin. There is nothing actually very new in what Vasilii Yakovlevich has said about the role of money-exchange relations. F. Engels wrote about this in his well-known work "Anti-During." The point, obviously, is something else. It is well known that there were two basic theories of socialism and a number of lesser ones. The first theory was that of During-Kautsky, which called for retaining money-exchange relations, with a plan to incorporate cost accounting, and granting independence to enterprises... Everything, in general, that we are now adopting under the aegis of well-known economists.

The second theory was that of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, according to which money-exchange relations would be retained to a certain extent during the transition period but would then be gradually supplanted as planned socialism replaced cost-accounting socialism.

M. Popov. In the historical context we must distinguish what is untrue and erroneous from what is essential. If progress is inevitable, for example, then negative influences on its path are also inevitable. Because historical

progress has never gone in a straight line; it has never consisted exclusively of positive aspects. So that when we speak of objective conditions giving rise to negative aspects in our history (past, present, and probably future) we must be aware that since these negative manifestations are objectively conditioned and that we do not oppose them as a definite conscious force, it may turn out that during some particular interval these negative tendencies can take the upper hand. The laws governing the life of society must be viewed as the laws governing our own activities.

Correspondent. In that case, Mikhail Vasilyevich, can you explain the positive and negative factors involved in the events that took place here after the revolution, also the causes of the period of stagnation in the life of our society?

M. Popov. I will attempt a rough sketch. Any revolution, Lenin said, must be able to defend itself. It was with this aim that the appropriate state organs were created after the victory of the October Revolution. Was this inevitable and necessary? Unquestionably, and apparently a positive fact. Having been created, however, these organs came to occupy a special place in the general system of division of labor. Thus, people appeared who dealt only with one thing—catching, prosecuting, punishing. And any state which has such attributes as prisons, colonies, and courts must necessarily also have an officialdom, one whose main function is to engage in coercing people, for the state is a realm of coercion. Hence, a kind of activity comes into being which some consider to be a panacea for all ills and, thereby, appealing to inevitability, accelerate the manifestation of negative aspects. In other words, the positive aspect—defense of the revolution—was immediately followed by the negative aspect. And when the transition period ended at the beginning of the 1930s and antagonistic classes had essentially disappeared by that time, this machine, which was created in order to combat class enemies, now had to fight for its own survival. But by what means? As we now know, by engaging in the search for, the ferreting out of, enemies of the people. And it kept engaging in this activity right up until the mid-1950s, when N. S. Khrushchev for the first time stated that any class war in our society was over.

But there is another aspect, one which Lenin spoke about in discussing the struggle against attempts by a few workers and groups of people still harboring capitalist ways—to give society as little as possible, and of poor quality at that, and to take from it as much as possible. Has this not spread to all segments of society? It certainly has, and on what a scale! It has spread to scientists, journalists, physicians, workers in trade, employees of state and party apparatuses.... Is this some accident? Or does it, unfortunately, have its own causes: Namely, certain people's striving for personal enrichment as manifested economically in cost relations of the sort Vasily Yakovlevich has spoken about. It is my opinion that this striving for personal enrichment on socialist soil

has become so widespread among us that it carries even very high-placed persons along in its current. For example, Rashidov was a millionaire, a bribe-taker, and a major wheeler-dealer. And just try to get rid of all the Rashidovs that are coming out of the woodwork today.

Correspondent. But why are they?

M. Popov. Because we still have so many shortages and so few consumer goods. For this reason, to put it crudely, if one person eats more meat another has to eat less. I think that if society had enough of things, the problem of bribery, for example, would disappear by itself. At present anyone occupying a position which enables him to acquire more than someone else is in a situation where he may gravitate toward thievery and abuse of office. In short, the present division of labor generates, as its reverse side, a desire to appropriate the results of other people's labor. The poorer the country is the more the people will be tempted to engage in bribery and strive to make money by any means.

I define a shortage as the difference between the quantity of money we pay out and the quantity of goods we have.

Correspondent. In other words, if we had balanced money-exchange relations there would be no shortage?

M. Popov. Unquestionably. If we have built up a state budget deficit/shortage in the amount of 36.3 billion rubles this year, that means we will pay out that amount of money over the amount we receive in revenues. In turn, this means that all products that are of the slightest value will be taken from the shelves and, most of them, wind up in the hands of speculators, so that consumers get them at triple the price. This happens, moreover, in accordance with the law, because the country's Supreme Soviet session has approved this budget. If I were a deputy, I personally would not vote for such a budget.

In the final nine months of last year our wages, our earnings grew by 9 percent, but retail trade turnover rose by just 5 percent while prices increased rapidly in a stealthy manner. With current production output, the growth of earnings in this country is rising substantially faster.

V. Zaznobin. Is that by chance or in accordance with economic laws [zakonomerno]?

M. Popov. Neither one. It is objectively conditioned. But you, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, would say that everything that is objectively conditioned is in accordance with laws. While the presence of criminals and prostitutes is objectively conditioned, that does not mean that these phenomena are law-governed. It only means that the appearance of such things obeys the general law of the unity and struggle of opposites.

It is a law-governed phenomenon that this struggle has been waged at all stages of the development of our history. And you will not find in it any point in time when everything was only positive or only negative. In the 1930s, for example, we had the personification of everything positive in one man, on the one hand, and everything negative in certain "enemies of the people," on the other. During the transition period there really were some enemies of socialism, but the personification of any negative tendency constitutes a crossing of objective boundaries and a striving to ascribe economic and social shortcomings to the wicked deeds of particular persons. And now we are observing a similar picture, in which the negative phenomena of the 1930s are ascribed only to Stalin. Natural laws, however, constitute a unified whole which incorporates both positive and negative tendencies.

Under socialism, in general, there is nothing that is purely positive. If you consider planning [planomernost], it inevitably entails randomness. If you consider the party, it inevitably includes opportunists and careerists. If you consider the state apparatus, you find bureaucratic civil servants in it. We are still at a low level in the development of the system.

Correspondent. Some of your conclusions seem doubtful. You say, for example, that if there were no shortages of goods there would be no corruption, no bribe-taking.

M. Popov. I was speaking of an abundance of goods. That involves various things. Deficits/shortages are a problem that can be dealt with easily. But it takes several decades to create an abundance.

Correspondent. But there is practically no way for there to be an abundance of goods, products, and services. Consequently, there will always be kinds of services and goods of which there will not be enough to go around for all members of society. And that means that some people will again be tempted to obtain rights which others do not possess.

K. Fedotov. I absolutely disagree with the notion that there can be no such thing as complete abundance. But why are you speaking only of the material side of things? From my point of view, man's basic needs are spiritual/intellectual. If there is abundance, there is no need to strive for additional material enrichment, and man will gain the opportunity to satisfy his spiritual/intellectual needs. But at present, when there is no abundance, a working man like me can state with certainty that I simply do not have the time to obtain even the minimum amount of the education I need.

Correspondent. Konstantin Vasilyevich, I can name a number of countries that have already attained a certain level of abundance. They include Sweden, Switzerland, and others. But although they have all kinds of material goods there, many inhabitants of those countries manifest no very appreciable desire to engage in spiritual/

intellectual activities. Therefore, when we say that material sufficiency constitutes a condition for spiritual/intellectual development, I consider it to be just one condition. However, I go further and draw a conclusion different from yours: It does not always necessarily lead to spirituality/intellectuality.

M. Popov. Really, let's not take materialism to be something mechanical, as if to say a man's behavior derives from economic and material conditions. I was referring to something else—the inevitability of a striving toward corruption, bribe-taking, and suchlike under conditions of money-exchange relations.

V. Zaznobin. But back to the subject of abundance. In our country at present there are 700 billion rubles for 333 billion rubles' worth of goods and services. Since personal funds—and they total over 300 billion rubles—are concentrated somewhere in the hands of 5, 7, or 10 percent of the population, then the actual price of any item or service is twice the amount given on the price list. Consequently, the person who has the most money can always get the most goods and services. What's important now is not to earn money but to make it.

Money destroys the superstructure, because, as experience has shown, it can be used to buy anything—up to and including candidate membership in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

At this point, it seems to me, the time has come to turn to the concept of ownership of the means of production. Ours is still a class-based society, because the essence of the content of ownership consists of administration [upravleniye]. Of course, administration is needed both under socialism and under capitalism. But as Lenin stated in his "State and Revolution," in order to ensure that our administrative apparatus does not turn into a bureaucratic one (hence an exploitative one), it is necessary to establish three conditions. And he did establish and formulate them. Not only the elective principle but also the principle of replaceability at any time. The level of consumption among administrators should not exceed that of the average working man, in order to ensure mutuality between workers and administrators. (So far, however, administrators do not depend materially on workers.) And the third condition is the replacement of parliamentary institutions by working institutions—that is, the kind that pass laws and enforce them. (Unfortunately, the latter two conditions are not yet even being discussed.) And Lenin said at the time that many would not agree with him, but that was because they were incapable of renouncing their petty bourgeois ways.

Even in the large firms of the capitalist countries, people realize that power does not belong to capital or to those who own it but to the administrators. It is they who are the owners of the means of production. Therefore, when anyone here says that no one owns anything, that is wrong. Property always belongs to someone. This is why

the administrators are inadvertently the exploiters of all workers. Under these conditions, millionaires could come into being here as a matter of natural course [zakonomerno].

One more thing. If there are classes in society, then we need a real, militant party, not just one consisting of 20 million members. Moreover, if the working class totals 70 million persons and the vanguard consists of 20 million, then that vanguard is too big. Incidentally, what we have now is not a Leninist party platform but a March party platform: People pay their dues and are considered members of the CPSU on that basis, although they do not actually work in the party. It was not by chance, moreover, that Lenin proposed purging the party ranks at a time when it consisted of only 400,000 persons.

M. Popov. When you say that in the system of capitalist production the owner is the one who administers, I cannot agree with you. The owner is the one in whose interests things are administered. On the other hand, if we fail to monitor the activities of persons who have been appointed or elected to prominent state and party posts and who ought to be administering things in the interests of the workers, the people, then they are attempting to run things in their own interests. I would not put it so crudely as to say that there must inevitably be a class of administrator-owners and that they have the opportunity to convert social property into their own corporate property.

When we speak about the period of stagnation, it needs to be explained this way: In the late 1970s and early 1980s, further increases in labor productivity were not translated into leisure time for workers to acquire further all-round development; rather, they only yielded increased surplus product. At first this took place in inappropriate ways: People were paid their money by one hand and had it taken away, via increased prices, by the other. Moreover, from 1917 through 1961 our work-week was shortened by 18 hours, while from 1961 through the present it has been shortened by only 12 minutes. In this regard, as you can see, progress in the development of those engaged directly in production, who by rights ought to be the real owners, has practically stopped. And this process is still continuing, unfortunately. And it is reflected in the profits toward which our enterprises are beginning to orient themselves. In short, profits are reflected in this surplus product, which goes to support persons who are not directly engaged in creating material goods. I grant that every administrator may, as an individual, be a good man and a skilled specialist, but taken altogether, as an apparatus, they reflect a deformation in property relations. The main point, however, is something else. The point is to achieve the basic goal of socialism: all-round development of the individual, something that can be achieved only by giving people free time. Then the workers will gain the

real opportunity to improve their educational level, meet their spiritual/intellectual needs, take active part in administering the economy, and so on.

V. Zaznobin. The bureaucracy is now really vigorously defending itself, although as yet that is not very obvious. And they are doing it, strange as it may seem, through the introduction of cost accounting and the spread of cooperatives, for example. Because the bureaucracy has exhausted its possibilities as the ruling class and cannot or does not know how to organize production properly, it hopes to achieve a higher organization of the economy via the market. For this reason, they are now going to "trim" the cooperatives and the cost-accounting enterprises and retain themselves as the superstructure.

M. Popov. Or, even better, lease out all the social means of production and only collect a kind of tax. And not be answerable for anything. Then the whole enormous superstructure would exist for just one thing—to collect money from the lessees.

Correspondent. But anyway, how can we make the working man, the working class, the real master? Only by adopting the plan system [planovost] and meeting the three conditions mentioned above by Vladimir Mikhaylovich?

V. Yelmeyev. I submit that the workers and the administrative, bureaucratic apparatus ought to change places in the social-economic sphere as well. If this apparatus is now hiring workers, then the workers themselves ought to be hiring their own apparatus and considering apparatus workers to be hired employees. But to do this, the working class must become the owner of the products that are produced. Then it will be able to hire a certain number of administrators to perform the functions which the workers themselves cannot do. If they could, they would get rid of the administrators.

Another important point. The political sphere definitely needs to be dealt with along with the economic sphere. The creation of labor collective councils, in big letters, can be a condition for this. In particular, the labor collective council ought to be the primary cell of soviet power in the enterprise. The organization of the entire system of soviets in the country should start with the production unit—incidentally, this was stipulated in the party program that was adopted at the Eighth Congress in 1919. This principle was never returned to again. But unless the labor collective council becomes the norm of the state soviet primary cell, it will be impossible to strengthen the economic position of the working man as the true master of production.

Correspondent. From what you have said, the working man can own and dispose of his product only under conditions of a free, open market. But if the administration of production remains centralized....

V. Yelmeyev. The way I see it, the central apparatus of administration consists of employees of the working class. The labor collective council in collaboration with the owner, so to speak, forms part of the overall system of division of labor. Its hired employees, starting with the enterprise, the rayon authorities, and so on right up to the nation's Gosplan, are to provide it with planned, proportional allocation of the goods it produces. This is the function of the planning organs, which serve as employees with respect to the workers, and the latter will require that if they have produced some product they ought to know what the national demand for it is and how it is being distributed.

K. Fedotov. It is also essential to exercise effective control and ensure complete glasnost with regard to who sells the product and where. Accounting and control must be obligatory, and on all economic levels.

Correspondent. But is there any guarantee that this control will be exercised in the interests of the people?

M. Popov. I think that there is only one guarantee: We must direct our efforts today not only toward transforming state power but also toward awakening the workers' active involvement. We can only achieve a normal course of development when every worker is in control of his own agencies.

And so, what more can we say at this point? We need to begin the practical implementation of Lenin's thinking as recorded in the Second Party Program. First, state plans need to stipulate one indicator that is basic in my opinion—how much increased labor productivity translates into how much reduction in the workday and increased leave time. This has not yet been stipulated in the plans, and until the question of free time is settled, the people who divide up manufactured goods will continue to dominate in society.

Secondly, at present the situation in the economy is so grave that if we were to have the plan stipulate that when labor productivity rose to such and such a level, work time would be reduced by such and such an amount, the working man might not believe it, and to a certain extent he would be right. He would say, "And then what if, like so many times in the past, some responsible official goes up on the speaker's stand and calls upon us to forget about the promised reductions, because of the grave international situation, an earthquake, or some such?" For this reason, it has to be done immediately in a number of enterprises. It is necessary to grant immediate free time to workers who have achieved success in boosting labor productivity. Then others will also work better. In addition, it would be advisable to grant additional free time for a certain period. If the work deteriorates later, then reinstate the previous extended workday in the enterprise. But in accordance with the law. By law we do not have the right to establish a workday or workweek that is longer than regulations call for, but whoever said that we cannot establish shorter ones?

V. Yelmeyev. Let me cite an example. If the 3.5 million persons added to the workforce in the current five-year plan were to enter the sphere of material production, that alone would permit us to shorten every worker's workday by at least one half-hour. But this does not happen, although we are well aware of the huge size of our administrative apparatus—a total of 18 million persons or perhaps even 25 million.

It turns out that we have not even discussed transferring people from the non-productive to the productive sphere, yet we are shifting them from the right shoulder of the working class to the left shoulder.

M. Popov. I think we have discerned the main task which we must strive to accomplish. By accomplishing it we can eliminate the possibility of utilizing every new social advance just to seat a new contingent of people behind desks. But the main thing, I repeat, is to ensure that increased labor productivity is translated into free time for those who produce the goods. To do this will require, in particular, removing profit from enterprises' performance indicators, because profit should be a source rather than a goal. The goal should be an overall reduction in prices. Let's say you are doing good work, and hence you are reducing the price of your product. Then a reciprocal dependence is established between us. At present, it is more advantageous from the standpoint of increasing profits to turn out fewer goods that cost more. But the normal situation is when more goods are produced as inexpensively as possible. Only then can scientific-technical progress be adopted. Everything else—education funds and incentive normatives, for example—can be left as they were, but only in relation to the total reduction in prices for enterprises producing consumer goods.

As one possible indicator for enterprises turning out means of production we may take confirmed labor savings due to the use of those means of production. I emphasize "confirmed" because otherwise people will continue to be paid for goods supposedly produced.

And if we do not want the apparatus to be in control but rather to serve, then it must start by helping the working class and the national economy, and only then will it be paid.

Finally, it is essential to make the state budget constant, to fix it so that it cannot grow. That way, the greater the output of goods, naturally, the more purchasing power the ruble will have. In the long run, all this will put a halt to the practice of constantly extracting additional labor and additional output from the workers.

Correspondent. Allow me to thank you for taking part in the discussion. You have raised and examined important problems and mapped out specific paths for our country's development. Not all of your proposals, of course, are without controversy: readers will agree with some

of them and disagree with others. Let us hope, however, that our discussion will not leave them indifferent and that they will want to continue it.

Leningrad Citizens Demand More Studies on Proposed Leisure Center

*18000625a Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 1 Feb 89 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Ye. Bogoslovskaya, V. Tereshkin: "Time Is Running Out On Discussions: Reporters' Observations Made at the Crossroad of Opinions"]

[Text] "Leave it for us to decide! I demand, yes I am not asking now, but demanding that this scheduled "project of the century" be discussed with the residents of Leningrad! We have had enough!"

These angry lines are from a letter, which our reader Ye. I. Belyaev wrote on 7 December, the day the article "Architects: A Call for Glasnost" was published. The article, under the rubric "At the Crossroad of Opinions", discussed the fact that the idea of establishing the largest leisure center in the world in the area of Lisiy Nos has caused fully explicable anxiety among the residents of the settlement and the Leningrad architects, who consider it necessary to carefully weigh all the "pros" and "cons", before deciding to undertake this very complex project.

And indeed: the leisure center has become the "crossroad of opinions". And as at every crossroad, the traffic is more intense and the drafts are more biting there. After standing at this crossroad for a while, one automatically gets lost: to which side should one go? Which direction should one choose? In various auditoriums and in letters, which have been received by the newspaper, the townspeople are conducting a heated discussion about whether the city needs such a center and if it is necessary, what kind of center it should be. Where we go from here, in many respects, depends upon this debate.

...The Chayka movie theater in Lisiy Nos, the middle of December. It is impossible to force one's way into the hall. People are standing in the foyer and are crowding near the side doors. The manager of the movie theater explains that the people started taking their places in the hall two to three hours before the beginning of the meeting. Feeling sorry for a correspondent, she allows him to climb up into the movie booth and from there, through a tiny opening, which was intended for showing films, observe what is happening in the hall. Of course, it is not very comfortable, but on the other hand, as the saying goes, it is "above the melee".

One gets the impression that one is looking into a burning hot oven: the atmosphere in the hall is fiery and there is the buzz of voices and shouting. And the red deputy's badges on the coat lapels of the senior comrades, who came to discuss with the residents of Lisiy Nos the problem of establishing a new tourist and amusement center, gleam like hot coals.

Impassioned speeches, thunderous applause, sarcastic remarks, and cutting retorts rise from the place. The rare unanimity in the hall is the lack of desire to hear about any center whatever. The bluntness of the statements, to put it mildly, borders on incivility. There is an inability to hear the speakers out and comprehend. There is undisguised distrust of those who are speaking.

However, it is easy to understand the uneasiness of the Lisiy Nos residents. How can people feel otherwise if, on the one hand, they are told that there is no cause for alarm, their home town will be preserved and meanwhile the inventory of buildings is being prepared for. Holders of sheep and goats, hogs, and chickens—it seems there are such people—are being given advance notice about the need "in case something comes up" to rapidly dispose of this livestock. What could this mean?

The appearance of A.N. Alfimov, the chief of the Leningrad City Ispolkom's Main Administration for Major Construction Projects, did not dispel the uneasiness either: he could talk with certainty only about what actions would be taken in case the settlement is moved, what the laws are on this account, who will receive an insurance loan for their house and who for their apartment, and who will have the opportunity to disassemble their building and transport it to a new site.

What will become of the land upon which people have lived for centuries, and how building the center will affect the ecology, economy, social sphere, and structure of the entire city was outlined very vaguely in the experts' answers. And this is precisely what upsets people most of all. They want to know the details.

However strange it is, even other members of the working group, which was created by the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom as early as last summer and which participated in the negotiations and in the preparation of the statement of intent signed by our country and the American firm, S. Eaton World Trade, were not able to report the details. Incidentally, for some reason it did not occur to anyone to include representatives of the settlement, whose fate directly depends upon the decisions that are made, in this working group.

One can say with confidence: if people had enough information, there would not have been so much shouting and harsh words.

...This theme is echoed in scores of letters, which were received by the editorial staff. One rarely encounters distinctly favorable appraisals among these letters to the same extent as distinctly negative ones. Basically, Leningradites, who are concerned with the news that was dumped upon them, want to know the particulars: what will the city get, what kind of "window to Europe" in view of the leisure center. The letters from Ya. N. Makovaya, A. M. Aleksandrov, D. A. Maksimov, A. M. Uspenskiy, N. G. Sheremetyev, N. N. Nikolayevaya, and many others dealt with this.

M. G. Suleyev asked—"Won't the undertaking of such a large scale project divert much manpower and many resources from absolutely essential top priority tasks?"

Ye. M. Kostryukova asked—"When making a decision, besides the economic gain did they take into consideration the losses on the moral and ethical plane, which might occur in Lisiy Nos and in the city as a whole?"

Ye. M. Velichko reproached us—"This is a serious problem, which social organizations and all types of specialists must solve, while taking the opinion of the people into consideration and your newspaper, in spite of glasnost, has not provided sufficient information about what is going on".

It is a fair rebuke, however we must assure Yelena Mikhaylovna that we also were unable to obtain more extensive information. That is to say: we reported what we knew.

...Even S. I. Sokolov himself, the city's chief architect, who reported only very general information about what the center would be like to those who were present at a public town-planning soviet at the end of December, proved to be slightly more competent. It must be stated that the experts were at this meeting at the architects' club—Leningrad architects, sociologists, museum workers, and ecologists. And they agreed on one thing: a clear-cut substantiation of the idea for the center and a well thought-out conception are necessary. Common ignorance in this issue could lead to an unpredictable and deplorable outcome.

Similar points of view were also expressed in letters to the editorial staff:

"During the construction of the gigantic leisure center, the forests, which are part of Leningrad's green forest-park zone, will inevitably suffer. The entire population of wax myrtle and other plants listed in the Red Book could be lost. The value of these plants is 32 million rubles".

M. S. Boch,
An official at the Botanical Institute

"The Ladoga-Neva system is the sole source of the huge city's water supply. For a long time no alternative scheme was known. For many years we searched for and finally discovered and mapped an underground river with potable water. We did not keep our work secret, the Leningrad Main Administration for Architecture and planning organizations associated with the project were well informed. And then, when we were preparing for the siting of water-supply wells, we were horrified to learn that the site, upon which this unique reservoir would be placed, had been set aside for the construction of an amusement center.

The condition of the Ladoga and Neva is deteriorating. Will it turn out that in "wonderland" instead of juice, we will be sold potable water by the glass and it will be a good business?"

M. N. Stronskaya, N. G. Biteleva, L. Yu. Korotkova, and L. F. Voynova, officials of the Sevzapgeologiya Industrial Geological Society

Thus, the tenseness of opinions at our crossroad can be expressed laconically: "Alarm!". Of course, we were glad when we found out that a seminar would be held on 23 and 24 January at the Gorkiy Palace of Culture, at which the originators of the amusement center idea would speak. Frankly speaking, we are tired of the noisy explanations reminiscent of either a Novgorod popular assembly, or a representative assembly of the Polish gentry, or a hoarse meeting of irrepressible informals.

We will have to deal with prominent businessmen, who do not take a single step which is not calculated with the assistance of a computer and lawyer. Do not be taken in by their shouting, among them time is measured strictly and accurately.

That is why on this occasion we expected to see scores of plane tables with drafts and sketches and an eye-popping sequence of slides, publicity films, and passionless documents at the seminar. The important PRAVDA article, "Near the Seashore in the Twentieth Century", in which M. B. Ignatyev, the leader of a creative group consisting of 100 experts from the most diverse fields, related that the development of the center's conception was already completed. He, himself, had been developing this idea for almost ten years. It was reassuring that "the wonderland concept, its composition, structure, and location were not based on a fairy tale at all—they were calculated with the aid of systems analysis and modern information science".

Alas, our expectations were not realized. There was not a single drawing or sketch near the hall or inside it. We decided that this meant we would be shown slides and films which were brought back from Canada. The members of the working group flew there to obtain an on-site familiarization with indoor swimming pools, ice rinks, and other marvels. But we were not shown a single slide or film sequence.

After experiencing difficulty getting a program, we read that the seminar was called "The problem of establishing a new Bolshoi cultural and amusement center in the area of Morskaya-Lisiy Nos-Gorskaya-Levashovo within the context of Leningrad's social infrastructure". Fifty-four reports were mentioned in the program.

But it became clear from the very first moments that there would not be any businesslike discussions at the seminar either. V. A. Morozov, the assistant chief of Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom's Main Administration for Culture, had barely begun his opening address, when

shouts were heard from the audience: "But where is the financial support?", "The community of Lakhta is opposed!", and "Why were our applications to speak rejected?". It was both uncomfortable and shameful to watch this scene, which set our teeth on edge.

And I really think that it was equally uncomfortable to listen to V. A. Morozov's speech. The very appellation of the seminar affirmed in which area the center would be located. But the whole time V. A. Morozov tried to contend that nothing had been decided yet and the site had not been determined and that we would not decide practical problems at the seminar. We would only discuss the conception and substance of these centers.

The appearance by Professor M. B. Ignatyev, the center's "ideological father", had an effect on the audience like pouring oil on flames. It was precisely his speech which should have extolled the well-reasoned basis for the conception of the center. But the professor repeated everything that has been repeated time and again: "Here is our conception—a large center outside of town. It will be buffer against the forests of the Karelian isthmus".

We listened attentively to all the speakers, while making a summary and recording all the "pros" and "cons". And we saw that the questions raised by the experts and the residents of Lisiy Nos were multiplying and furthermore, these questions were by no means of the minor sort. They were very pointed questions. But those who asked them did not receive perspicuous answers.

If one summarizes the arguments of the center project's supporters and authors, one arrives at the following: the city's economy is in a crisis and the ecological situation is grave. Museums are working at the lowest limits and there is nowhere to have a good time and take in the beauty. The West must help us. The center, as a joint undertaking, will provide foreign currency and rubles, which will be put into circulation to help the city, and Leningradites will receive intellectual sustenance, restore their health, and amuse themselves in the swimming pools, gymnasiums, libraries, and shops. And the center will even save us from ecological disasters in a miraculous way: a station, in which instruments will continually measure the water and air, will be placed on the center's territory.

The counterarguments sound like this: the selection of the site was not well thought-out. On the one side are the northern refineries and on the other the dam extends toward the shore. The city epidemiological station has already prohibited entering the water in exactly this spot. A gigantic center designed to handle hundreds of thousands of patrons in a day along with tens of thousands of people staying in the hotels, and also thousands of service personnel will aggravate the ecological situation. It is doubtful whether black marketeers, speculators in foreign currency, prostitutes, racketeers, and mafiosi will disappear by that time, which means social tension will increase. Wouldn't it be easier to develop mini-centers in

all areas of the city and if a center is built near Lisiy Nos, it should be done with a reasonable reduction in size and a thorough study, carefully integrating it into the surroundings.

The seminar ended with a portion of those present drawing up recommendations and sending them to the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom's Main Administration for Culture. These recommendations declared that the conception under discussion is questionable because it is not sound from the ecological, economic, social, moral, artistic, and legal points of view. It was declared necessary that a conference of experts from various fields with the participation of the city leaders and the general public be convoked not later than 10 February 1989 to discuss alternatives for Leningrad's cultural development.

The participants in the seminar feel that prior to signing any sort of legal documents with foreign firms, it is necessary to conduct a thorough and comprehensive ecological study of the center or its variants. This study must be carried out by an independent commission.

The stopwatch of the new age has started: when acting during a time crunch, one must have an accurate knowledge of the rules of the game so as not to exclaim afterwards: couldn't we start over from the beginning? Soon our transoceanic partners will bring in their technical and economic validation team. The time for discussions with shouts from the audience and vague speeches from the rostrums has passed. Leningradites are waiting for proper scientific studies of the proposed center.

Chernichenko Speaks Out on Grain Imports, Analyzes Problems Internally

18000625b Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Yuriy Chernichenko, publicist and secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board, by Correspondent L. Korsunskiy: "It Is Impossible To Live In Regimes Which Do Not Tolerate Dissent..."; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Yu. D. Chernichenko, publicist and secretary of the USSR Writers' Union governing body, spent three days in January in Leningrad. They were waiting for him in the Scientists' Club at Leningrad State University—the discussion lasted for hours. There was a pyramid of notes on the table in his hotel room—there are not enough hours in the day to answer all of them!—"a list of topics" for future essays and speeches in lecture halls.

What did I talk about with the residents of Leningrad?—Yuriy Dmitriyevich repeated my question and became lost in thought trying to remember.—I talked about subjects which I have been involved with for three decades now: about wheat purchases, about the causes of the 1932-1933 famine, and about its aftereffects in the form of ration

cards, restrictions on changing residences, and removing food from the village and pumping it into the city. And then a long green electric train would return these same foodstuffs to the place where they had been produced. And this was the analysis of grain and food import since Leningrad, in addition to everything else, was also a large commercial port. Apparently, all of this also interests the readers of your newspaper. Just take into account that I am ill-informed about the Leningrad oblast's agrarian problems... So?

[Correspondent] And nevertheless, Yuriy Dmitriyevich, it is difficult to believe that you do not know anything about life in a Leningrad village. You are a sharp and experienced polemist, therefore you will not get by without questions on how to manage our lands.

Cherninenko hemmed in astonishment, then burst out laughing, and immediately, without making excuses for himself, began:

[Cherninenko] What do I know about the workaday routine in your region? I know that there are no collective farms—only state farms and associations. I know that a hotbed of cooperation has broken out between the major industrial associations and the state farms and this has permitted the efficient use of the labor force in the provinces. I remember that the former leaders reacted very characteristically to your experiment. As soon as they found out about it from our television broadcast in Moscow, everything was crushed. I do not know how this ended, because at that time we barely managed to save those enterprises which we had displayed as models.

In general, I can say that the land close to the giant city—this is a special category, it is not at all the same as land far away from it. This situation can, obviously, be seen both in New York and in Shanghai, and in Moscow and Leningrad... Proximity to an industrial giant increases the value of land extraordinarily high—by whole orders of magnitude. According to Marx, it has a differential rent—a factor of one. And it is necessary to get little pimpled cucumbers, flavored milk, and biologically pure potatoes and radishes from literally every meter of this land. But what do you actually get? I read in your own LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA that some managers at the local state farms overplanted cabbage, parsley, and radishes...

By the way, some notions should be defined more accurately. When we talk "vegetables" with you, in the first instance you picture cabbage (with nitrates!), beets, and carrots and there is no longer imagination for anything else. Isn't this true? But what about lettuce, artichokes, and asparagus—you simply are unaware of these. You say you have read about them? But in our neck of the woods near Moscow, Mama Antona Pavlovich Chekhova grew beautiful artichokes "for house and home", and since the beginning of time Luzhniki, where I live, has placed a multitude of different vegetables on the market. But what is the situation now? We have

reduced everything to a minimum—it is only a short step and cabbage, which has been pumped up by fertilizers, will take the place of all vegetables.

In this respect Leningrad is not at all different from its peers: do you also purchase glass and plastic from Holland for hotbeds, grow meter-long "sausages" from green water in them, and think that this is careful use of the land?!

And meanwhile, in recent decades many foreign cities surrounding the Baltic Sea are unaware of the difference between winter and summer with respect to the food supply. Ask any one of us when the first strawberries show up in the city—we will become lost in thought, in which month exactly—June or July... But the answer to that question is the same in Sweden, Finland, and Denmark: at six o'clock in the morning!

Unfortunately, our notion about the food supply is based on the standard of 1934, when the country was coming out of a prolonged famine and herring and bread and butter began to appear in homes. You have all of this and meat as well in the rayons of your oblast, but not far away in neighboring Pskovshchina, artificial substitutes are prevalent in the population's food allowance. Imitation butters for example. They are not producing Vologda-style butter near Vologda not because they don't know how to do it or have lost their "secret", but because they have been forced to dilute it with additives. They have reduced it to an inferior state and are supplying so-called "sandwich butter" to the people.

So, unfortunately, there are imitation products and ration cards in our midst (no matter how hard we try to camouflage them as coupons, "orders", etc.), we come back to the fact that the rural population is driving into the city for foodstuffs. We live on imported grain and the veterans of the Baltic merchant fleet can by no means get used to the fact that for a quarter of a century already they have carried grain to the USSR and not from the USSR.

[Correspondent] Excuse me for interrupting, Yuriy Dmitriyevich, but, perhaps, you could provide a little more detail about grain imports. One has had occasion to read that currently our agriculture is completely satisfying the population's demand for grain and bakery goods. And we are basically spending hard currency on purchases of grain for raising livestock...

[Chernichenko] Certainly not, excuse me for not hearing you out, but I am confident that this information is drawn from ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. L. Vashukov, the chief of the administration for agro-industrial complex statistics in the USSR State Committee for Statistics, "informed" readers about precisely this information. In this year's first issue of ZNAMYA I commented upon his responses to questions, but I will once again repeat myself because people must know the truth.

So, if 40 million tons of grain per year goes for baking bread, four times as much goes for raising livestock. But why are we spending hard currency basically not on forage and fodder grades of grain, but on wheat—grain for people? We spend on an average of 3-4 billion dollars per year on wheat and in 1984, it was even twice as much. In the production of fertilizers and chemical herbicides and pesticides "we are ahead of the whole planet". In addition, you will notice that we produce 16 times more combines and 6 times more tractors than the USA and yet despite this we buy grain from them. The consequences of stagnant management are such that for today we are a net importer nation: we import more than we export. For a ton of grain we lay out to the capitalists a sum in dollars, for which we would be able to purchase a significant amount of quality goods.

It is no coincidence that concepts which are almost paradoxical arise in such situations. If we are importing half of our foodstuffs from abroad and are paying billions of dollars for them, we now have many chairmen of collective farms offering to sell wheat surpluses (after fulfilling the government's order)...also for dollars. Let the leaseholders and co-operators sell it. The price per ton would be less than on the world market in any case and in return our peasants would receive a monetary profit. By having an account in the World Bank, a farmer would be able to purchase everything that he needed abroad—from a sheepskin coat to equipment.

This problem could be solved in this manner or it could be solved in another manner, but it must be solved. But for the time being we continue to transfer oil-dollars and grain-dollars abroad and there is never enough money for the improvement of that same Non-Black Earth Zone nor for the modernization of the country's machine stock.

There are many problems and issues. But in our era of glasnost and democratization we must break ourselves of the habit of unthinking "yeas". According to Norbert Wiener, in regimes which do not tolerate dissent, attempts at contrary signals end in the elimination of the signaller. You see, it is not only this way in cybernetics, but in life as well.

[Correspondent] I agree that we have become used to many things... I recently read that young Gabriel Garsia Markes, after visiting us for the first time during the World Youth Festival continued to be astonished at the display cases in our stores and by the fact that there are no goods in them, but for some reason illustrations and inscriptions: "Milk", "Meat", and "Bread"...

[Chernichenko] An excellent example, it is almost a parable. We tolerantly pass by the tins of horse mackerel, which "adorn" our store shelves. And if you receive your wages for the thirteenth of the month, you will go, gently bobbing up and down and whistling, and the shortage of goods will not depress you. And after all it is namely the shortage of goods that is the unpalatable distinction of

our cities. If architectural beauty is the frame, goods in the display cases is the present day essence of the picture. However beautiful the frame—splendidly handcrafted from gold, it cannot create a the sensation of a finished canvas.

Young Markes was astonished for a good reason—you see, in our society there are illustrative and verbal categories. One drives along the roads and they attempt to persuade you with advertisements, but this is by no means an advertisement for reality. If as far back as 10-15 years ago, the slogan "Keep one's money in a savings bank" was efficacious, nowadays it is awkward and useless to do this. Back in Moscow they advertise ...presses from the German Democratic Republic, but I do not know a person, who would seriously think about purchasing 2-3 presses. This is not advertisement, it is decor and mysticism.

How do you and I receive information about goods? People pass by with their string bags and you, after seeing what is in them, ask: "Where was all of this 'discarded'?" In addition, the majority of people have their own channels of information—"Where can one get their hands on one thing or another?". And so, our standard "to get one's hands on something" is directly proportional to the standard "how to rid oneself of something" in the amount of energy which is expended. And our work standard is just as irregular.

We will not walk far—I would like to, but I cannot invite you for a cup of coffee. And all of this is because the Hungarian-made coffee maker in the Oktyabrskaya Hotel snack bar is not working. Two despondent men have been pacing around it for several days already and they cannot hook up the water. Why? It turns out that there is no longer any... beer in the snack bar and without the beer, which the barmaid gave as a present, it now appears that these specialists will never get the water hooked up to the coffee maker. You say—send these specialists away and call in others. They answer—there are no other people available.

But at the very same time near the entrance to the Oktyabrskaya Hotel, three ruddy, able-bodied gentlemen only concern themselves with not allowing people "who do not have a need" into the hotel. I recently stayed at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City. In this gigantic hotel one can meet with a friend, have breakfast and dinner, get a haircut, buy a newspaper, and, pardon me, use the public rest rooms. And one can do all of this regardless of whether one has a room in the hotel. But here—near the Oktyabrskaya Hotel, a trio of grown men make a living doing this kind of "work" and, obviously are well-fed.

[Correspondent] You are mistaken, Yuriy Dmitriyevich, it is not three, but four chaps on duty at the entrance into the hotel.

[Chernichenko] And taking this into account, you want to have sausage without fillers and natural Vologda-style butter in the stores? You see, everything is interrelated! You and I have lost our eyesight and no Doctor Fedorov will be able to cure it, if we do not notice those bright lads at the hotel entrance, if you look—and do not see the six girls, who are sitting and handing out keys for hundred-rubled wages, and if you do not notice the coffee maker, which does not work “without beer”. This is what Yevtushenko called “getting accustomed to the inconveniences”...

Incidentally, the function of social and political journalism also includes telling people about those things which they do not want to notice.

On the one hand, we say that there are 3 million “managers” in the state agro-industrial system and given this, there is no one to work, but in America 2.2 million farmers feed the whole country. And, in addition to this, let's also take a look at the State Automobile Inspectorate (GAI), for example, whose number of employees would suffice for the whole world. We cannot say that the number of accidents in our country is decreasing, although we have an insignificant number of automobiles in comparison with France and Italy. But an enormous number of able-bodied thirty-year-old men in our country make their living around motor transport. Who needs all these GAI inspectors or agro-industrial managers in such a large number, besides they, themselves?

[Correspondent] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, what do you make of the lack of collective farms in our oblast?

[Chernichenko] All things being equal, it is, in essence, destructive. The more highly planned and highly structured agriculture, the more flexible and efficient it is. For state farms, collective farms, tenant farms, and cooperatives, all—the more polyphonically we manage our economy, the better. It seems to me that economic catastrophe has befallen the oblast's collective farms in their time—hence the support for the state farms. And since they work for guaranteed pay at the state farms, the people have held their ground there. I will refer to M. S. Gorbachev—he cited the following figures at a meeting with tenants: there are 6.5 thousand unprofitable farms in the country and they are spending funds on wages which exceed the output they are producing by 1.8 times. Are these not social parasites?

[Correspondent] But shouldn't there be a positive program as well?

[Chernichenko] One of the near-term solutions is in leasing. Only one should not confuse a lease on a short string, like the one there on your dictaphone, with a normal, unfettered lease. Some people want the collective farm or state farm to keep its tenant on a leash so that he would be under the farm's yoke and would plug

the holes, which have been drilled as a result of the director's mismanagement. But tell me, why should a person darn your holes through his own conscientious work?

We must convert all of these 6.5 thousand unprofitable farms to unrestricted lease and not give the land to the proprietor for a year or two, as is currently practiced, but for 25-50 years, as was recently done in Latvia. As far as the unprofitable farms are concerned—either extricate ourselves from them, look for profitable and lucrative ways of managing them, or sink—no one has yet changed the laws of physics. You see, we have educated a whole layer of people, for whom profits... are planned and moreover they receive guaranteed earnings.

The Finns live side by side with you, Leningradites, and produce surplus foodstuffs in identical climatic conditions. Among the Finns the number of cows per farmer is strictly regulated—a maximum of 10, otherwise there would be overproduction of milk and meat. But the Finnish farmer “swindles” the state—whereas he was obtaining 3000 kilograms of milk per cow before, now it is 7.5 thousand kilograms. But our farmers also “swindle”—they are working toward a reduction. Everyone must study all the time—there is nothing to be ashamed of in that. Even at the new stage of perestroika, these criteria remain as before.

Let's attempt to sum up our discussion. Skepticism is our undoing. All kind of pigsties and farms attached to the factories and institutes are the embodiment of skepticism toward the collective farm and state farm. The invariable labor quitrent for the city is the notorious “potato”, which one would never be able to explain to any sort of foreigner—also the disbelief that our village is capable of rising to its feet. There is a policy for cultivation of six percent of the land and converting the feeding of the cities to overtime work—once again the present administration's disbelief in the ability of the collective farms and state farms to feed the people. Feeding the people means getting rid of the lines, rationing, empty grocery stores, humiliating “orders” and getting rid of the shameful anxiety concerning how and with what the string bag will be filled after work.

If glasnost does not include constant concern for the people—it is a frivolous variation in the atmosphere. Courage is needed. But it is common knowledge that Leningradites are not preoccupied with courage. Let's wish each other successes in perestroika.

Supplement to Newspaper to be Published in Crimean Tatar Language

18001059 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 May 89 p 2

[Article by S. Sadoshenko, Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya Special Correspondent, Simferopol: “In the Native Language”]

[Text] In July the first issue of a weekly Crimean Tatar language supplement to the oblast newspaper KRYM-SKAYA PRAVDA will be published. The paper itself is

published in two languages, Russian and Ukrainian. Crimean Tatars, whose numbers in southern Ukraine have lately been constantly increasing, to date did not have a local newspaper in their native language. The party obkom, supported by the Ukrainian CP CC and the CPSU CC, has met the numerous requests of Crimean Tatars half-way.

The supplement to KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA will be four pages long and half the PRAVDA format size.

Pre-Soviet Publications No Longer Banned in Estonia 18150024

[Editorial Report] Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR, 9 December and 16 December 1988 publishes on pages 12 and 12-13 respectively, a 5,600 word article entitled "No Longer On Special Hold" by Malle Aleksius. The article reports on the recent review of library materials that were released from "special hold" publications previously banned to the public.

Aleksius explains: "Estonian-language publications issued up to the start of the Soviet era are free. Some 43 books and brochures published during the years of the Estonian Republic and the German occupation were on special hold through the end of October of this year. Still remaining on special hold are some works by Russian authors who have left Russia during the Soviet period. For some reason, these also include works by Georgi Malenkov and Lazar Kaganovitch, who never left the country."

The author further specifies that all Estonian-language newspapers published abroad, formerly on "extra special hold," are now classified "special hold" only. The same is true of many Estonian or foreign-language books published by Estonians living abroad. The journals MANA and TULIMULD are now permitted reading, except for MANA No 56 (1987) and TULIMULD No 2 (1988).

The author's search for the ultimate authority behind these changes comes up empty. Ivi Tingre, Head Specialist of the Cultural Committee, who directed the review activity, said that her authority came from Glavlit, but did not know who else might be involved. The Glavlit management claimed that they lack political authority, and must therefore rely on the ECP Central Committee. The people at the Central Committee, however, maintained that the publications reaching their office have already been stamped, but they don't know where. The article continues:

"Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: there is something, somewhere that we don't know, because the ECP no longer has anything to do with restricting books and Glavlit does not yet have the right to make political decisions."

Malle Aleksius shares the position of the Estonian National Libraries' People's Front Support Group to release from special hold all Estonian publications abroad. He also mentions efforts initiated to form a special commission that is qualified to deal with these matters along with Glavlit, whose decisions would be made public, and be open to public criticism.

The article goes on to say that all future library activity will be based on the guidelines published by Vladimir Boldorev, USSR Glavlit Chief, in IZVESTIYA of 3 November 1988: "There is only one principle: forbidden are all materials that represent state secrets, or can harm the interests of the people. All else comes under the ruling: everything that is not forbidden, is permitted."

Equally encouraging, according to the article, is Boldorev's promise that all scientific-technical, literary, informational, artistic and many other kinds of books and periodicals should reach the postal addressee without any hindrance.

An exception to this was cited by E. Kessel, Deputy Chief of the Estonian Glavlit: "Of course, Boldorev's statement does not apply to those works that have been declared to be anti-Soviet. If a book is on special hold, it will not come through in the mail."

The article lists the following Estonian authors as vying for the distinction of being the most hostile: Artur Taska, Enn Nou, Rein Taagepera, Andres Kung, Helno Susi, Tauno Vaidla and Agu Kriisa. Other writers still on special hold and listed in the article are: Agu Kask, Juri Remmelgas, Tuudur Tamm, Arvi Tinitis and Eevald Uustalu.

On the question of doing away with the special hold altogether, the author comments: "First, the harmfulness to the society and to the state of all literature arriving from abroad should be determined in Estonia alone (and that openly); only then can we talk about completely abolishing the special hold status. Books should come to Estonia directly, not via Moscow."

Kurt Ingerman, Chief of the ESSR Glavlit, who reviewed the subject article before its publication, added the following information:

"By now a commission has been formed that includes: K. Ingerman (ESSR Glavlit), J. Joeruut, (ESSR Writers' Union), J. Kahk (ESSR Academy of Sciences), M. Kubo (ESSR Cultural Committee), P. Nuuma (ESSR Ministry of Justice), I. Raak (State Customs Office), E. Ounpere (ESSR Council of Ministers). In April of this year, the libraries were instructed to transfer 908 books to general access. By now, the remaining books have also been reviewed, and 137 of them earmarked for transfer to general access. There are only 42 books left that, in our

opinion, require a qualified political and legal evaluation by experts on the commission mentioned. I think this work will be completed during the first quarter of the coming year."

Of the 42 books still left to be reviewed, Ingerman mentioned the following: "Estonian Freedom Fighters in World War II"; V. Jurissaar's "Between Two Fronts. the Eastern Battle With Col Rebane"; J. Lina's "Nocturnal Days"; "Commentaries" by A. Militis; "The Fiery Gate" and "Three Fir Trees" by J. Remmelgas; "Through the Fog" by T. Vaidla, and others.

Defending the state's right to protect itself and its people against some socially harmful materials arriving from abroad, Ingerman said: "There are enough publications among them the content of which is directed against the Soviet state and social order propagating terrorism (war), violence, racism in all of its manifestations, pornography and vulgar erotics..." Ingerman also added: "The special hold books are now also listed in the general catalogs of all libraries. There is a notation to that effect on the catalog card only. Special hold books can be used by university students, degree candidates, scientists and members of creative unions. Presenting the membership card of the creative union or a request from one's place of employment is all that's required."

The special hold restrictions, according to the article, also apply to the following reviews:

"The Baltic Countries"; "Baltic Folk Festival" 1970, 1972, 1974, 1975; "Baltic States: A Study of Their Origin and National Development"; "Their Seizure and Incorporation into the U.S.S.R."; "The Baltic States 1940-1972"; "The Estonian State and Its People in World War II" I-X; "Estonia's Fateful Years 1945-1960" I-VI; "Estonian Freedom Fighters in World War II"; "The Republic of Estonia 1918-1940" E. Uustalu, Ed.; "The Estonians in America 1627-1975. Compiled and edited by J. Pennar"; "Estonian Literature in Exile. An Essay by A. Oras"; Agu Krilsa "Occupied Estonia—The Way It Is"; Andres Kung "What's Happening In Finland?" "Fates and Achievements. The Balticum Today"; Margareta Hammar, Ulo Ignats "Soviets Under Glasnost"; R. Misiunas, R. Taagepera "The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940-1980"; T. Parming, E. Jarvesoo "A Case Study of a Soviet Republic. The Estonian SSR"; Tolvo U. Raun "Estonia and the Estonians"; Peter P. Rebane "The Estonians in America 1627-1975: A Chronology and Fact Book"; August Rel "The Drama of the Baltic Peoples"; Hugo Salasoo "Foreign Language Publications in Estonian Archives in Australia"; Rein Taagepera "Softening Without Liberalization in the Soviet Union (The case of Juri Kukki)"; Artur Taska "Estonia's Destroyed and Undestructible Memorabilia"; "The Estonian Anthem"; "The Estonian Coat of Arms";

"From Self-Determination to Genocide—the Words and Deeds of the Soviet Union in Respect to the Republic of Estonia and Its People"; "Of the Flags in Estonian Law"; "Thoughts On the Symbols of the Estonian People"; "Blue-black-and-white—The Cloak and the Crown of the Estonian Soul"; "Blue-black-and-white. The Tricolor and the Republic of Estonia"; "Hundred Years of Blue-Black-and-White"; William Tomingas "The Soviet Colonization of Estonia"; Evald Uustalu "The History of the Estonian People"; Erik Virbsoo "Stories From Times Passed."

Europarlament Representative Backs Baltic Republics Autonomy

18070552 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 1

[ETA report by A. Chaplygin: "Press Conference by Participants in the Europarlament Intergroup"]

[Text] On 10 February in Tallinn a press conference was held by the delegation of the Baltic Intergroup of the Europarlament.

"I have been struck by the changes which have taken place in the Baltic republics in the last few years," Hans-Joachim Zeler, head of the Baltic Intergroup delegation, told reporters. "Thus, as recently as three years ago, such things as the use of national symbols and freedom to demonstrate seemed unrealistic. I consider the latter the undoubted right of any person."

H.-J. Zeler noted that the use of national symbols is undoubtedly facilitating the national identification of the Baltic peoples.

Touching on the problem of migration, he pointed out that all economically developed countries are faced with this problem today; however, they especially affect small peoples. Therefore, he considers as positive those changes going on today in the Baltic republics in the area of politics and the economy.

The transition to economic self-accounting [khozyaystvennyy raschet], the preparation for which is now being completed in the Baltic republics, said H.-J. Zeler, seems to him an undoubtedly useful step on the path of improving economic relations between the republics and the center, as well as between the republics and foreign countries.

Answering a question about the striving to strengthen the republics' sovereignty, H.-J. Zeler said that from his conversation with Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, he had learned that Estonia had put forth its suggestions on this problem in Moscow.

Speaking on the upcoming visit to Moscow by an official Europarliament delegation, H.-J. Zeler assured those present that the members of the delegation would undoubtedly be acquainted with those questions, having to do with the Baltic republics. He emphasized in this connection that those data, which their group had received during the present visit, would also be used.

Military Convoy Causes Stir in Tartu
18150070 Tartu EDASI in Estonian 14 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by Peeter Tali]

[Text] Yesterday, the phones in the editorial office started ringing rather anxiously very early in the morning. The first callers informed us that tanks have been brought into Tartu to disperse the anti-military demonstrations by students. Later in the day it turned out that things were not quite that serious. The actual picture was as follows: between 5 and 7 o'clock in the morning, a motorized military column, including five or six infantry combat machines (BMP's) went through Tartu (from Tallinn Highway through Kingissepp and Lai Streets and out through Voru Highway).

Olari Taal, manager of "Tartu Maja": "I saw the military column before seven at Ulenurme, it was moving at a speed of 60 to 70 kilometers per hour. The road was covered with what looked like powdered sugar—the dust of gravel ground up by the tank treads. It is astounding that, at a time when Canada, for example, has outlawed the use of studded tires and the same is contemplated in Sweden, we have tanks riding on our roads."

It may well have been the military appearance of these tracked machines, combined with the recent news items from Trans-Caucasia, that caused them to be taken for tanks and the worst to be assumed. Actually, nothing terribly awful happened, except for patches of broken concrete where the machines went through and a spoiled start of the workday for the rudely—and perhaps too early awakened—city folk. Considering the tenseness of the situation in the Soviet Union today, incidents like this are not particularly conducive to the political balance in Estonia.

To the question why (and with whose permission) these tracked war machines rode through the city of Tartu at high speeds, no answer could be obtained from the War Commissioner's office. Deputy War Commissioner Capt Vorobjov suggested we turn to those in command of the equipment. Those in command suggested we turn to other command authorities. Nobody could say anything concrete. The SAI (military auto inspection) refused to answer any questions. Ilmar Hamarik, traffic supervision group commander for state auto inspection knew nothing of the morning's column. He had been told, however, about a military column that should have moved and, in fact, did move from Tallinn to Voru. The RAI (state auto inspection) men had directed the column

to Voru via the bypass. The early morning speeders could have been left behind from last night and simply did not know about the possibility of bypassing the city.

Even from my own experiences of army life, it is not uncommon in the Soviet army for a tank unit dispatched to respond to an emergency to arrive at the designated time in only one third of its strength.

As you can see, there is no reason for panic right now, but we are ever more conscious of the question—who should control (and when needed, discipline) the activity of the Soviet army? The United States Senate?

History of the Estonian Society for the Protection of Antiquities Recounted

18150023 Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian 16 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by Trivimi Veliste]

[Text] Time flows in spiral motion. History never repeats itself in detail, but it does repeat itself. We are about to reach the final days of 1988, the year that has established itself in the history of Estonia. It also marked the first year of activity for the Estonian Society for the Protection of Antiquities. Could this be a mere coincidence?

The Estonian Society for the Preservation of Antiquities has been called a new kind of a phenomenon: an organization born from below—and not mandated from above, as was pointed out by Olev Remsu right after its formation assembly (12 December 1987). EMS (The Estonian Society for the Preservation of Antiquities) was the first of its kind to come through severe labor pains, while fighting for its right to live. First, there were some isolated clubs for the preservation of antiquities that had sprung up simultaneously. What followed were meetings in Juri, the Movie House in Tallinn, Keila, Tarvastu, the formation assembly in Tallinn, Tartu and Parnu. The Estonian language week has been observed at home and also abroad. The number of clubs and local societies has, if not exploded, then at least grown without restraint: 12, 17, 25, 31, 62, 80, 120, 180. The Estonian Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, with its roughly 10,000 members today, has become a social force to be reckoned with. It is a nationwide movement that has its own infrastructure: the society has its network of world-wide chapters and its original groupings. This network is intensifying

It has been asked if the Estonian Society for the Preservation of Antiquities does not deal too much with politics, instead of dealing with the preservation of antiquities. Let's ask here if "antiquities" and "preservation of antiquities" are terms well enough defined for our purposes today? I think they are. Antiquity is all the reality around us, inasmuch as it has become a part of

our past. Hence, everything that is, will become antiquity. By antiquity we mean our roots, our entire heritage. This requires protection. And only we can offer that protection.

Protection of antiquities, therefore, is not a partisan activity, but a matter for the whole nation, the ethical imperative for each person. Protection of antiquities is politics in its widest sense. Protection of antiquities must stand above partisan activity.

In the first year of the Estonian Society for the Protection of Antiquities, has the documentation of human destinies amounted to preserving antiquities? Has the restoration of the War of Independence monuments? How about the creation of monuments to national celebrities like Villem Reiman, Konstantin Pats? What then would qualify as preservation of antiquities, if not the restoration of the memory shared by people? If not the restoration of self-worth and vitality? Monuments are not needed by the heroes who perished, but by ourselves—so that we would remember.

I have been asked what would have gone differently in the development of this summer, or of this year, if the EMS had not brought out the national colors during this April's Preservation of Antiquities Days in Tartu. I don't know the answer. I don't know the weight of one "what if." But we know what it is.

Again, we have our flag, our honor and our faith. We feel, at least to some extent, like masters in our country. And we know that all of this is only a beginning. We also know that all we have gained, we have gained for the time being. Anything for the future would still have to be won.

The Estonian nation is like a tree with two branches. Nationalist sentiment at home and abroad has sprung out of the same soil, grown out of the same trunk. The latter has preserved itself abroad, so as not to be cut off. The fruit borne by that other branch has become very important to us now.

The rejoining of these two parts of our nation has begun: on 25 September, the national flag, along with monuments restored in our country, were consecrated at Old Andrew's Episcopal Church in Toronto. The EMS was ceremoniously given a regulation-size blue-black-and-white flag for safe keeping. Since EMS does not have a permanent home, this flag is kept at the Holy Spirit Church.

On 22 May, a sister organization to the EMS was born—the Foreign-Estonian Society for the Protection of Antiquities (VMS), with chapters to date in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, New York (and other U.S. locations); Goteborg, Stockholm, Adelaide, Helsinki and others. The chairman for the VMS is Neeme Jarvi, with assistant chairmen Lembit Soots and Alur Reinans, and Secretary Rein Taagepere. The chief goal of VMS is to

provide material support to EMS, especially through the acquisition of technical means. Thanks to the generosity of Estonians abroad, the Estonian Society for the Protection of Antiquities has acquired large quantities of high-quality printing paper ("The tidings of the Society for the Protection of Antiquities"), duplicating and computer technology, video and sound equipment (for preserving our shared memories), printed materials, and much more.

The first year of the Estonian Society for the Protection of Antiquities has come full circle. On Saturday, 17 December, the society will hold its anniversary ceremony at the Tartu University auditorium. It is the first time to take stock and to ask ourselves: have we accomplished much or little? The answer is: we have accomplished much, and yet we have accomplished little. Quite a few good and noble intentions are still only intentions. The status of our antiquities has barely begun to improve. But, at any rate, we have set out on the road. We can rejoice over the activity of the EMS enterprise Agu, whose archeological rescue excavations at Tartu's Jaani Church, Tallinn's Harju Street and elsewhere, have the significance of a breakthrough. Also significant is the publishing activity of Agu. In addition to the fourth edition of the society's newspaper, a pilot issue of the society's "Editions" is expected to be off the press shortly, containing memorable texts of socially significant writings from the period of Estonia's independent republic. The memoirs, diaries and other historical source materials collected by the society's history committee are also subject to a growing demand by publishers from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Great Britain, Canada and elsewhere.

The Baltic Germans, many of whom consider Estonia to be their homeland, are following with great hope and interest our first steps toward restoring and caring for their heritage, especially for the grave markings. And they are ready to come and help. Dozens of young Estonians from abroad are getting ready for their first visit to the land of their fathers, so as to lend their protective hands for our antiquities, too. The winner of the design contest for the memorial to 193 murder victims in Tartu was Helmut Ajango, an Estonian-national from America.

The whole nation is preparing for the anniversary celebration of Jaan Hurt. The Estonian Society for the protection of Antiquities has started a nationwide collection for restoring the monument of President Konstantin Pats at Tahkuranna, which is supposed to be ready for the 50th anniversary of its original opening on 25 Jun 1989. We turn to all of our countrymen, all institutions, enterprises, combines, unions and associations with a plea to support this work. (EMS' account in the Dwelling-Social Bank: 1700131, telephone 44 92 16).

We are on a road where there is no time to stop. It takes all of us to create history—a history that will never repeat itself exactly. But it will repeat itself nevertheless.

Fire Contained at the Estonia Mine; Secondary Source Smolders
18150021

[Editorial Report] Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian, 10 December 1988, publishes on page 4 a 700-word article by Monika Kokk entitled "Men reached the source of fire during firefighting at the Estonia Mine." Based on information received earlier in the week from Ulo Tambet, deputy chairman of the government commission, the article states: "Right now we are busy flooding the fourth panel drift; large amounts of water have been pumped underground through drill holes, so that it would eventually reach the source of the fire. The only way to keep track of what's happening in the burning zone is taking temperature readings and air samples."

On Thursday, the following eye-witness account was given by Mihhail Sudelovski, chief of the military mine rescue service of the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry: "It's hot inside the drift, 93 degrees C. The walls were radiating heat. There was no smoke, visibility was good. The drifts are full of crumbled mine mass, with loose chunks of oil shale dangling from ceilings and walls. Couldn't stay in there long. The temperature of a Finnish sauna in there was topped by high humidity. We entered the drift directly being what was the source, and I can state with a high degree of probability that the fire has subsided."

The remaining activity, based on Tambet's remarks, is recapped in the article as follows: "The main attention is now focused on the second source of fire. It is known that the fire broke out of the fourth panel drift and spread to the area that has been worked through. The size of this area is 50 x 50 meters. What's happening inside the source is not known precisely—there's no access because of the heat. Expert opinion holds that there cannot be any open fire, but we have to be prepared for anything."

"The mining people are reluctant to talk about deadlines for putting out the fire," the concluded, "but they do hope it will be accomplished before the end of the year."

TASS Correspondents Charged, Fail to Show Up for Trial
18150022

[Editorial Report] Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian on 16 December 1988 carries on page 4 an article by Tiit Pold and Toomas Roosileht entitled "Court hearing postponed." It deals with the charges filed against two TASS correspondents by Marju Lauristin, Lembit Koik and Edgar Savisaar, members of the People's Front leadership team. The article states: "The three members of the People's Front leadership team based their lawsuit on insult to their honor and dignity caused by the TASS correspondents who used official ETA information channels to send materials to their management in

Moscow that, in the opinion of the plaintiffs, placed the situation in Estonia and the role of the People's Front in the local political scene in a wrong light."

The article goes on to say that the hearing was postponed because the defendants B. Vlassov and O. Deineko had left the country and did not show up for the trial. A short interview with their recently arrived colleagues Vadim Zaitsev and Juri Sidorov produced the following comment on the lawsuit: "From the legal point of view, we see nothing out of the ordinary in this. But there is another angle to it: namely, how did the materials sent through official channels wind up in the hands of the general public? None of these have appeared in the media."

The newly arrived correspondents concluded: "We have met with several party workers and discussed with them the current situation in Estonia. We want to form an objective image of what's happening here, and to reflect it truthfully."

Lithuanian Candidates Discuss Major Election Issues

18000863 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
22 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by N. Zdanovich: "The Voter Decides"]

[Text] Voters of the 255th national territorial district must vote for one of three candidates. He will represent their interests in the nation's highest governmental body.

Academician Eduyardas Vilkas, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, director of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian SSR AN [Academy of Science], is one of those who developed the concept of the republic's economic independence.

Major General Styaponas Nekroshus is chief of the republic civil defense headquarters. He has long years of military service behind him, work at Chernobyl, and, most recently, in Armenia, and he has devoted quite a bit of energy to organizing civil defense in Lithuania.

Rimvidas Yasinavichyus, general director of the Vilma Association, candidate of technical sciences, is the creator of many inventions, and initiated the introduction of a new economic management concept into the association, the basis of which is the socially active personality interested in the success of his firm.

Three candidates... What is behind their titles and recognized merits? Why is it precisely they who are on the home straight of the election? And just which of them will finally persuade the voters that he is the only possible choice?

People gathered for a meeting with the candidates for deputy in search of answers to these questions. The meeting was held in the concert hall of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Palace of Culture and Sport.

Notes with questions on them began to come in even before the start of the meeting. But as soon as the meeting began, passions flared concerning the language in which the candidates would speak. The main characters themselves found a way out of the situation—they promised to answer the question in the language in which it was posed and to translate when necessary.

Academician E. Vilkas was the first to approach the microphone. It became clear from his answers that, if elected, the academician sees the goal of his activities as deputy in the development of the all-union market without which, from his point of view, it will be impossible to develop Lithuania's economy. He also thinks that Lithuania does not need closed economic zones but must completely transition to cost accounting. E. Vilkas noted the important role of scientific research in the new conditions, having determined, however, that any work of scientists which does not correspond to the contemporary world level "is not science."

One question, I admit, forced me to be on guard: It seemed to me that it was asked for the purpose of verifying the speaker's sincerity, and maybe even with the desire to place him in an ambiguous position. They asked E. Vilkas if he is an advocate of Lithuania's secession from the USSR. The academician recalled the words of M.S. Gorbachev about the need to restructure life in the country in such a manner that all peoples got on well in it. "If that will be so," he continued, "I think Lithuania itself will not want to leave the place where it lives well." E. Vilkas was again asked to share his reflections on if he sees an advantage of socialism as compared to capitalism. In answer, they heard that the ideals of socialism have been nurtured since olden times by mankind's best minds and we must also aspire to them. It is another matter: It is still early to talk about the final structure of socialism in our society, "for only speeches were socialist now."

I think that it is always more difficult for the first speaker. However, it did not appear to me that it was any easier for General S. Nekroshus to rub shoulders with the people than it was for the respected academician. Admittedly at times it became uncomfortable for the audience which had allowed itself to be tactless and even threatening in the notes. But military training and self-control, well and, of course, the encouragement of supporters who were also present in the hall, certainly helped the former soldier: in the battle with intolerance, victory was his. The general's smile, his jokes, and confident answers proved this.

Questions were directed at S. Nekroshus first of all as to a military affairs expert. He decisively advocated reduction of the armed forces, democratization in the Army, and was against drafting students since they must not interrupt the learning process.

The general answered the question about his attitude towards the idea of creating national military formations by saying that he does not support it. He explained his point of view: Representatives of 30 nationalities live in Lithuania and it would simply be absurd to create that number of military units. The candidate adheres to the opinion that Lithuania does not need its own Army since it can neither maintain one nor independently defend itself. This approach found both supporters and opponents in the hall.

It was clear from the notes that many were upset by problems of Army life. While recognizing the need to resolve them, S. Nekroshus nevertheless reproached the press for describing the army exclusively in dismal tones and frequently representing fantasy as reality. "It is shameful for these 'scribblers' to offer such flagrant lies to the reader as when newspapers report that military units paint the grass green and tie leaves to tree branches before inspections," he said.

The question was also asked about why the general agreed to be a candidate. "I want to defend the interests of every family living in Lithuania," he said. "There has never been a representative of our republic's military in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR but the interests of the Army affects each of us in some way."

After that, candidate R. Yasinavichyus appeared before us, met by the applause of his supporters.

Many were interested in whether R. Yasinavichyus' sympathies belonged to Sajudis or Yedinstvo. I caught myself thinking that soon, perhaps, the answer to that question will become a criterion for appraising an individual: Tell me to which movement you belong and I will tell you who you are... The candidate stated that he does not participate in either the LDP or the SDP but he recognizes their complete right to exist if their goals really serve perestroika and improvement of the people's lives.

And, in my opinion, Yasinavichyus also had enough unpleasant and unintelligent questions. Or, as he called them "jolly ones"... For example, this one: "Are you a Lithuanian or an internationalist?" It was answered by the following: "A true Lithuanian is also an internationalist and I consider myself to be one." At the intermission, he admitted to me that certain notes deeply troubled him and he is certain that the authors would hardly say their contents aloud in full view of the whole hall.

Right now, I do not want to remember all of the ridiculous accusations, allusions, and appeals to the candidate... Finally, it is a matter of each person's

culture and education. I only thought that, perhaps, the hall would not be hindered if it adopted a bit of that correctness and respect which our competitors demonstrated in relation to each other in the struggle for the right to be peoples deputies.

R. Yasinavichyus, while answering questions, readily admitted that the Vilma PO's [Production Association] success was achieved thanks to new management methods. "The restructuring program was formed within the association when perestroika had still not begun in the republic," reported the general director. In perspective, the experienced production organizer sees a merger of the Law on Cooperatives and the Law on State Enterprises so that any man knows that he can obtain a sufficiently high wage for his labors.

While discussing sovereignty, the candidate for deputy expressed the opinion that it must begin at the enterprise. The budget must also be formed from the bottom up: the enterprise returns a third of its profits to the city, the city returns a third of its budget to the republic fund, etc.

While proposing a way to more justly allocate the budget, R. Yasinavichyus stated the need for reducing the bureaucratic apparatus, abolishing conditions which transform leaders into bureaucrats, and the need for reducing military expenditures.

I am particularly reminded of his words that we need glasnost and democracy today but, that glasnost, in his opinion, must be constructive and not destructive and democracy must be a synthesis of what is wise and not an outburst of anarchy...

The conversation lasted a long time. The candidates returned to the podium many times. In several days, the fate of the mandate of the peoples deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for the 225th national-territorial district will become known. Which of the three will take on the responsibility for the voters' aspirations—the scientist who enjoys respect in the republic and beyond its borders? Or the general who is capable of applying his knowledge of life and experience as a professional defender of the people to the deputy's duties? Or, maybe the business-like, aggressive, talented organizer and head of a large factory? I can honestly say: It will not be easy to choose.

Round Table Discusses Baltic Concepts of National Sovereignty

18080043 Riga CINA in Latvian 22 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by R. Blaumane: "We Can Think and Decide Ourselves." Notes on a conversation between representatives from the three republics at a KOMMUNIST magazine round table.]

[Text] [A. Kalnins (Latvia)] The republic is capable of creating its laws. A project on peasant farms has already been presented for the people's discussion. A group of scientists is working on the republic's project on self-financing. (Many other examples.)

The results of the region's work must be preserved for the people, which works better. So that one feels—if I work, then I receive.

[M. Bronsteins. (Estonia)] The transition to the republic's self-financing will liquidate possibilities to steal the Soviet Union's resources and will further the normalization of international relations.

Economic sovereignty must not be translated as isolation; it will be a regulator of the economy.

I have had enough of listening to accusations that Estonia is better off because it robs others. If we do not create an equivalent exchange, the accusations will continue. Let market relations prove fairness.

Subordination is not an economic, but an administrative concept.

Our market must be defended. A check system must be instituted.

We must begin with the budget and finances. Without that it is impossible to solve the national question.

[K. Prunskiene (Lithuania)] The center is trying to preserve its positions by working out a unified economic appearance for all regions. In each region live people with their own peculiarities, which do not yield to everything in similar fashion. How can you deny the difference between the Baltic states and Central Asia? It amounts to violence.

Rights, which the center had usurped, must be given back to the republics. We must look for another unity—through market relations.

[K. Hallika (Estonia)] Contradictions in the international sphere are created by the presence of two economies in the republic. It is most obviously visible in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. It is not nationals that developed industry there, and it is not nationals that gain benefits for themselves from industry. Nationals have been allotted a second, lesser developed branch of the economy—agriculture. A similar structure has also developed in Estonia and Latvia. That is also determined by the socially economic faces of the capital city. The Estonian national culture is being degraded. Settlement and isolation. The countryside and the city. Industry and agriculture. As the result of the lasting influence of such division, Estonians are being forced out of more developed structures in their territory. An intra-national work division according to the national principle has developed.

Only economic sovereignty will provide the chance to integrate the work force of the nationalities living in the republic.

[A. Gaponenko (Latvia)] Means of production must become a market good. If it will be so, then we will be able to redistribute them on the scale of the republic.

For the most part, the Russian-speaking public works in Latvia's industry. Immigrants—unqualified workers.

In agriculture—Latvians.

In cooperatives—Ukrainians, Jews, and Russians.

The income is not proportionally divided.

As soon as the countryside is a priority, national conflicts erupt. We will be able to liquidate them, once market relations develop.

We must think about creating a political mechanism which would honestly divide capital investments through a two-chamber system. We must go into the parliamentary battle, granting distribution an open character.

[M. Lauristina (Estonia)] We cannot solve economic, judicial and national questions separately. They follow one from another.

We must admit that the nation is a realistic subject of history.

While preserving the nation, we must arrive at wiser utilization of its powers. Currently we are fighting for the preservation of nations.

A few interject—Europe is integrating, we are dividing. To be able to integrate, at first we need to differentiate, to let develop those peoples who have suffered and lost much.

First of all, the development and preservation of national culture is determined by the law that protects the language. The second precondition—the development of a model of regional republican education system. Estonian culture cannot develop in standardized schools. In Russian schools Estonian and Estonian culture must be taught, so that the children can adapt to Estonian society.

We must further and recognize the development of minority peoples and their cultural leaders; then integration will be easier and internationalism more logical.

[I. Apine (Latvia)] It is important to realize how the social consciousness of the Latvian people has developed. Let us remember in what manner the Baltic republics entered the Soviet Union, that in 1940 the socialism model developed by Stalin had to be accepted. Infidelity to the people, deportations, insults. Before that two decades of statehood. That all affects the social consciousness, and only now we are crawling out of deformations.

We must clarify and explain many theoretical questions: nationalism and national consciousness; internationalism and pseudo-internationalism; internationalism and cosmopolitanism; patriotism and national nihilism.

The consciousness of all inhabitants' groups is deformed. We meet a strain.

After long suppression of sorrows, self-affirmation and openness is important for the middle level of Latvians. A part even has a sick direction.

The middle Russian level, whose number in the republic will increase 14 times in comparison with the thirties, currently is in deep psychological shock. Because until now internationalism was taught only to Latvians. It did not refer to Russians, they only watched over the Latvians.

Regarding the middle level of Party workers—incomprehension, they have been knocked out of equilibrium. They perceive restructuring processes as even anti-socialist, as mixing up the foundations.

A few strata have different propositions as how to arrive at internationalism. Some suggest a solution, proceeding from national interests, others (Interfront) from positions of cosmopolitanism.

[V. Martinkus (Lithuania)] Let us institute agricultural financing. What will happen to books and journals, which will not yield a profit? Economists must clarify how to regulate market relations with planning, so that enterprises would become sponsors, caretakers of culture on the level of the state plan. Otherwise a spiritual crisis can set in.

The creation of ideological myths is being stimulated even now. National problems have a history, but it is being hidden by ideological lies. An example—a Soviet history book for universities.

[A. Gaizutis (Lithuania)] Cosmopolitanism plays a bad role. The broken off national groups are feeding on it right now. The way out—to search for sources, roots, and return to one's people.

Ties with Moscow and Leningrad are tearing. Cosmopolitan ties are lacking, the true ones are being preserved. The centrists say: your way leads to isolation, to provincial culture. I think not. Let culture affirm itself in a national form. But the dissolution of conjured-up, artificially-created ties is nothing bad.

[J. Goldmanis (Latvia)] Together we must create a model of national relations. We must think of what form it must take, taking into account current relations. This must be discussed not only by theoreticians, but by all that can influence it. It is necessary to publicly become conscious of these processes.

I am disturbed by the theses of V. Tishkov's article, published in this year's first issue of the magazine **KOMMUNIST** for discussion and consultation, in which the author proposes rejecting the ethnic meaning of the "nation" concept, attributing to "nation"—the meaning of one state's citizens' unity. It is time to cast away pseudo-national propositions. That is not a scholastic debate, but politics.

[G. Hazaks (Estonia)] A constitutional conflict—that is a normal thing. Such conflicts need not be dramatized. It one arises, a committee, which will resolve it, must be created.

Sovereignty it is the same as pregnancy—either it is there or it is not.

Peppers must not be strewn into scars; they must be opened. The truth must be renewed. The facts and principles of the development of the Baltic Soviet republics are different from other republics. History cannot be evaded. If the magazine **KOMMUNIST** will not say that, then opponents will.

I think that a confederation is also possible in the structure of the USSR. That is not at all a departure, but a way to cement relations.

[J. Bojars (Latvia)] It is surprising that the center looks so unfavorably on deputy veto rights for their own republic. In Yugoslavia they work.

A republic cannot be sovereign if it is not allowed to control industry.

Citizenship is not only an economic, but also a political concept. It is a sign of republican sovereignty. It is the politically legal tie in the citizen's relationship with the state.

It would be democratic to form a court collegium on immigration questions. It would decide whether a person has rights to a republic's citizenship. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet would have higher rights of acceptance.

[V. Lazutka (Lithuania)] Taking about changes in the status of the Communist Party, we have arrived at the conclusion that the Party must become a national power in the broadest meaning of nationalism, eliminating the division into nationalities. If we will be in a confederation, then the question about independent party organizations will become obligatory. Such is the reality in Lithuania. The question remains—whether to eliminate it or enter into discussions and analyses.

[K. Hallika (Estonia)] A question about the party's role in the political system. The party must proceed from an administrative system, whose nucleus it has not been up until now. There is no way out other than federalism. It will disappear then, when the party will be pulled out of the administrative system.

[A. Plotnieks (Latvia)] A sovereign nation accepts and institutes changes in its constitution itself. How does the Constitution of the Latvian SSR differ from the Constitution of the USSR? As in the anecdote—by the cover.

No republic has given its land into common property. Such a law does not exist. Therefore each people is the owners of its land.

The [Soviet] Union regulates only federal relations, everything else—is at the discretion of the republic.

The republics together work out a model of the Soviet Union's leadership as is necessary for them.

[I. Kezbers (Latvia)] If we will speak the truth about the year of 1939-1940—we will win; if only half the truth—our adversaries will win.

When a foreign policy of the Baltic region becomes reality, we must participate in it ourselves. It cannot be conducted without the presence of the Baltic republics.

We must work out a common conception of the three republics about emigration.

I would like us to go the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Plenum on Nationality Relations with different approaches. So that each would have his own, not a standard, approach, for we are different.

You will be able to read a developed transcript of the round table discussion in the magazines *KOMMUNIST* and *PADOMJU LATVIJAS KOMMUNISTI* ["Soviet Latvia's Communist"].

Latvia's Interior Minister on the New Special Units
18080042 Riga LITERATURA UN MAKSLA in Latvian 18 Feb 89 p 15

[Article by Aivars Klavis: "The Special Units—A Loss or Gain for Democracy?" Interview with Bruno Steinbriks, Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR (questions submitted in written form)]

[Text] [*LITERATURA UN MAKSLA (LUM)*] Is it true that in Riga, the same as in Moscow and Leningrad, special units for a special purpose are being created (perhaps already have been created)? Here I mean the subunits in the Interior Ministry's system, about which people started talking in reference to last year's meetings and demonstrations, and which, for some reason, have gotten the name "The Black Berets" among the people.

[Steinbriks] Yes, it is true. Right now in Riga a special militia unit is being formed, which will also be the only one in the republic. In the membership of the Interior Ministry we already proposed creating a special unit in the seventies, moreover, not only once. We were able to fully solve the question only now, during the time of the restructuring process, when the thoughts of professionals are being taken more into account. Individual journalists and representatives of the so-called informal associations try to associate this unit with the meetings and demonstrations because non-specialists are fascinated only by the external. The unit's militiamen will also have special uniforms, part of which are berets in a black color.

[LUM] Why are such new units necessary? What sort of assignments are planned for them?

[Steinbriks] The unit will have to perform special militia functions, as well as regular patrolling functions. More about the special functions. Among them one can include maintaining social order during socially political, athletic, cultural and other mass events. For example, maintaining social order during hockey and soccer games, and races of a larger scale on the Bikernieks and Sigulda routes and in other similar places.

In cases of natural disasters (floods, hurricanes, etc.), epidemics, large production and traffic accidents, catastrophes and other extraordinary occurrences, the special unit will mainly have to work. If we had a set-up and trained unit, then on 8 December of last year it would already have been in one of Armenia's populated areas, performed rescue operations and guaranteed social order in the district struck by the earthquake. So that these workers would be ready for working in the mentioned conditions, they must first be prepared. We are too used to holding forth after the event, but once we must understand and be ready to work in an accident too!

The prevention of mass disorder and group transgressions of social order also falls into the competence of the unit. One of the unit's platoons already worked in January of this year for eight days in Jekabpils, where there was an incident between individual co-operators and gypsies. Together with the local militia it carried out its assignment successfully. We have had to listen to the most accusations in this sphere, such as about events in Sumgaita and other southern towns. Precisely this direction of the militia's activity does not satisfy individual members of society. As it seems, it is as if purposely to later be able to accuse us of inaction, in the case of heavy consequences later.

As the last special responsibility I will mention the defense of armed criminals. For the carrying out of such duties are also necessary—special instincts, armaments, means of defense.

[LUM] Do those powers, which until now were at the disposal of the Interior Ministry, not guarantee order in the new conditions of restructuring and democratization?

[Steinbriks] The Ministry of the Interior never had such powers earlier, and the existing units are not always able to fulfill the mentioned assignments. The necessity has always existed, only the center did not want to solve these problems.

[LUM] Each individual's and collective's action is determined by concrete rights and responsibilities. Maybe you could be more specific about the special meaning of the special unit's rights and responsibilities.

[Steinbriks] In its action the special militia unit, like all the militia's employees, will guide themselves by the 8 June 1973 decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which set down the Soviet militia's basic responsibilities and rights in protecting the social order and in the fight with crime. No other authority and responsibilities are given to these units.

[LUM] How will these rights and responsibilities be regulated, who will determine them? Who will control and check their observance? Who will guarantee that in the name of the unit's given assignments the constitutional rights of citizens will not be violated?

[Steinbriks] The same as the rest of the militia's activity: the Soviet of Nationalities, the public prosecutor's office, and without doubt, also our own internal investigations.

[LUM] Under whose jurisdiction will these units be? In other words, who will be competent to give the order that the new units should begin to carry out their specific assignments?

[Steinbriks] The unit is specifically under my jurisdiction. The unit's subunits (platoons) have been performing their duties for already two months—performing the patrolling in Riga.

[LUM] If it is not a secret—what is the numerical composition of the newly-founded unit?

[Steinbriks] The unit is not completely set up yet, therefore it is too early to speak of its numerical composition. When the setting up and the training of the employees for the performing of their special duties will be completed, we will invite the mass media correspondents to meet with the unit, then you yourself will be able to determine the unit's numerical composition.

[LUM] It is very essential to know—what is the level of experience, education and profession of the people who serve in this unit? How thoroughly do they know the local conditions, and which nationality's representatives predominate? Do you have such data at your disposal?

[Steinbriks] All interior militiamen have at least a secondary education and a faultless former work record in the republic's interior organs. The commanders have a higher or middle special education. We pay no attention to nationality. The main thing is that they speak the Latvian and Russian languages. During the special preparation time, all supplement their knowledge of Latvian history and geography.

[LUM] I very much hope that the special units of special significance will never have to perform these special duties of special significance, although...And still it is not really clear, for what the men of the mentioned units will be paid a salary during normal work days; what will they do—prepare, train, learn the necessary skills, gain experience, or something else too?

[Steinbriks] Here you are rudely mistaken. It is no special duty unit, but a work unit. As I mentioned, already today the special responsibilities should be carried out by the unit (athletic and other mass undertakings), unfortunately, while the unit is not fully set up and trained, it fulfills only the usual militia's duties. Regrettably, unemployment does not yet threaten the militia.

Congress of LPF Radical Wing Adopts New Name, Outlines Positions
18000698 Riga SOVESTSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 4

[Report by A. Medvedeva, Ye. Meshkov, and Ye. Orlov: "From Informals to Radicals"]

[Text] They were some of the first people in our republic to bring the red-white-red flag out from "underground." They were the first to stand in the picket lines. They were the first to begin to speak openly from improvised street podiums on problems of state importance, bit by bit winning back the right to informal, though not always constructive but still nationwide, discussion of painful questions of economics, politics, and ecology.

THE INFORMALS. Their actions are not to the taste of many people. "But they say seditious things! They sow interethnic hostility! They hold nothing sacred!" If the actions of the members of the Informal Latvian People's Front are evaluated from the positions of past years, yes, they do "sow and stir up." It is possible that such an evaluation is true of some informals even today. It is too bad, but each of us nowadays understands democracy in his own way. And that is characteristic of our time.

11 February 1989. Riga, Upisha, 6. The Second Congress of the Informal Latvian People's Front.

In the hall are 334 delegates who came to the congress from all over the republic, and the majority of them are Latvians. The speakers talk tersely, concisely—the presidium of three people carefully enforces the time limit.

No blinding searchlights, no television cameras. The atmosphere is almost a homey one and most of the delegates know one another very well from joint actions. Informals.

From the speech by Professor Yanis Freymanis, representative of the LPF Duma and guest of the congress: "You represent the radical part of the People's Front. Is it good or bad that we have radicals in the society? It is good. We have all been the same for a very long time. But today each of us has his own voice. It is important that your and our efforts be combined so that we accept all documents together, since the Latvian nation is one..."

In appealing to the delegates, Professor Freymanis asked them to be vigilant, even when the republic government is making decisions which the people have long been waiting for (for example, the law on migration). It is important to monitor their implementation, for the republic's leaders have not yet abandoned deception and prostituting themselves. All elements of the LPF must rationally distribute their forces, said the professor and proposed on his own that the radical wing turn its attention to the army and the LPF's interrelations with it.

The readers will forgive us, but from here on we will confine ourselves to a summary of the speeches given by people at the congress. In many respects the delegates and guests repeated one another and some speeches were largely based on emotion.

Ints Tsalitis, who was the chairman of the congress, gave a short report. Speaking of the LPF's place in the republic's sociopolitical life and in addition comparing it with other organizations, Tsalitis emphasized that the informals have been and remain more independent of pressure "from above," and hence, they are able to finish any work they have started. We also believe, Ints said, that it will not be necessary in the future for the LPF radical association to leave the Latvian People's Front.

We must jump ahead one more time, to say that one of the most important questions was the name of the organization. The organizing committee presented five variants to the delegates:

The Informal Democratic Association of the LPF; the Informal Association of the LPF; the Radical Informal Association of the LPF; the Radical Association of the LPF; and the Radical Democratic Association of the LPF.

As a result of debates and the vote which followed, the congress decided on the fourth variant. So it is the Radical Association of the LPF [RO NFL]. During the break one of the leaders of the RO NFL Imant Kulinskis told our SOVESTSKAYA MOLODEZH correspondents about its structure, tasks, and forms of work.

[Kulinskis] There are about 4,500 members in the Radical Association of the LPF, according to our data. All of us support the program of the Latvian People's Front. However, the program can be realized in different ways. We see our task as seeking alternative variants to solving problems which trouble the republic. The LPF leadership will decide if they are accepted or not. But we must sound the warning and attract attention rather than allowing the members of the People's Front to "fall asleep."

[Correspondent] Imant, please tell us about the methods in more detail.

[Kulinskis] We will use all democratic forms of work: picket lines, rallies, demonstrations. In any case, you may assure the readers that we do not intend to use guns...

[Correspondent] Is the Radical Association responsible for what is said at rallies and written on picket signs?

[Kulinskis] Absolutely. We discuss all the slogans, ratify them, and are ready to answer for them. However, if someone comes to our rally with his own placard—let it stand: everyone has the right to a voice.

[Correspondent] In the hall we saw sketches proposed for discussion of symbols and armbands for an "Order Guard." Pardon me, but why does the Radical Association need its own militia?

[Kulinskis] To prevent disorder when demonstrations and other actions of the association are held.

[Correspondent] The following was heard in some speeches at the RO congress: "This formal People's Front." Does that mean that you continue to consider the Latvian People's Front an organization authorized "from above"?

[Kulinskis] No, the RO revised its relationship to the LPF long ago, and, incidentally, our congress also confirms that. However, among the radicals there are people with a more radical attitude toward the LPF—that is their right.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the Latvian Movement for Independence?

[Kulinskis] We are cooperating within the framework of the LPF. Many members of our organization are at the same time members of the DNNL [Latvian Movement for Independence], and vice-versa.

[Correspondent] Imant, we must confess to you that in our opinion not one constructive statement has yet been heard at your congress.

[Kulinskis] Yes, unfortunately, there are very few highly qualified economists, historians, or jurists in the RO. And today emotion alone is not enough—everyone understands that. A concrete program of actions and real changes are already needed.

We return to the hall. The delegates greeted the guest from Canada Guntis Silinsh with loud applause. Guntis is a man with an extremely interesting fate: Latvian by nationality, he was born in Sweden and has worked on many continents and seen the world. "Latvia is called the most neutral country in the world," he said. "It does not even intervene in its own affairs." Then the guest recalled that up to now Canada has not recognized the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic as part of the USSR.

The speech by Viktor Petkus, a member of the Latvian "Helsinki Group" aroused a great deal of interest.

One other guest at the congress was the historian Mavrik Vulfson. The respected historian stated that in interrelations between the LPF and the Interfront, the only question upon which there could be no compromise was the question of historical memory and the historical injustice which was done in 1940 in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Moreover, the distribution of social forces in the republic should be evaluated not by nationality or some other feature, but precisely by the attitude toward 1940, the historian stated.

He also called upon the delegates of the congress to be careful and attentive. "Today we are following a very narrow path," said Mavrik Vulfson. "To the right and to the left is the abyss. We must make no mistake. We must remember that the party forgives only its own mistakes!"

It must be said that in many speeches at the congress the following warning was heard: "we must be vigilant," "we must not make mistakes," "let us be careful." Whom do the informals fear? Who is the "enemy" whose "task is to split" the informal movement? Who is so strong that even the informals fear him. Alas, the speakers did not give an answer to these questions. Or rather, they did not name the "enemy."

But all the same the congress was a success. In leaving we saw the satisfied faces of the delegates and we saw the enthusiasm with which they left the hospitality house in Riga, at Upisha 6, ready to continue to bear their difficult burden and awaken our and your activism by their own social activism.

And once again we will wait for them in the streets. Are radicals also necessary to a healthy society?

LaSSR Council of Ministers Resolution on Facilitating Latvian Language Study

LaSSR Council of Ministers Resolution
18000915 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
23 Apr 89 p 2

[Resolution No 435 of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers: "104. On Measures for Implementing the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree of 6 October 1988, 'On the Status of the Latvian Language'"]

[Text] In accordance with the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree of 6 October 1988, "On the Status of the Latvian Language," and in order to create the conditions for radical improvement of the teaching and learning of languages at all the republic's educational institutions; and to guarantee the constitutional rights of all nationalities to use their native language in the republic, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decrees:

1. The Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education; other ministries, state committees and departments in the republic; as well as associations, enterprises and organizations of union-level subordination, situated on republic territory, which have educational institutions and children's pre-school institutions under their supervision, shall be authorized to divide into two sub-groups, where the appropriate material base (accommodations) exists:

1.1 Older groups, and groups preparing (for school) with 25 or more children at children's pre-school institutions, in order to learn (according to the parents' wishes) a second language (Latvian or Russian) from paid teachers (instructors) in both subgroups;

1.2 Classes and study groups of 25 or more pupils in general-educational schools, secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions for learning one's native language.

2. The division of the groups and classes enumerated in Point 1 into subgroups shall be implemented gradually, beginning 1 September 1989, according to the following sequence:

2.1 In the 1989/90 academic year:

Older groups and groups preparing (for school) at children's pre-school institutions;

First Grades at general-educational schools;

10th-12th Grades with humanities major at general-educational schools;

8th-12th Grades with in-depth study of the Latvian or Russian language at general-educational schools;

2.2 In the 1990/90 academic year, 2nd-4th Grades at general-educational schools;

2.3 In the 1991/92 academic year, 5th-9th Grades at general-educational schools;

2.4 In the 1992/93 academic year, 10th-12th Grades at general-educational schools; and,

Study groups at secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized academic institutions.

3. Ministries, state committees and departments of the Latvian SSR, as well as associations, enterprises and organizations of union-level subordination, situated on republic territory, which supervise academic institutions and children's pre-school institutions, shall be authorized:

3.1 Beginning 1 September 1989, to transfer for decision of the administrators of academic institutions and children's pre-school institutions the question of supplemental wages in an amount up to 50 percent of the wage scale to teachers and instructors, and tutors at children's pre-school institutions, for language training simultaneously in the two subgroups at academic institutions or children's pre-school institutions which do not have the appropriate material base (accommodations) and cadres, and in which the division of classes or study groups into subgroups as stipulated in Point 1 of this resolution;

3.2 Beginning 1 January 1989 recruit, by way of an exception, for work as teachers or instructors of Latvian language and literature at city general-educational schools, secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized academic institutions in the republic—retired people, and pay them (including those employed at a permanent job) wages and full pension, not to exceed the overall sum of 300 rubles per month.

4. For the purposes of in-depth instruction in Latvian language and literature, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education shall be authorized:

4.1 Beginning with the 1989/90 academic year, within the total number of hours stipulated in the academic plan, increase the number of Latvian language lessons in the republic's general-educational schools, in all secondary vocational-technical schools of the ministries and departments of the Latvian SSR and associations, enterprises and organizations of union-level subordination situated on republic territory; and also at secondary specialized academic institutions of republic and union subordination wherein instruction is in the Latvian language, in order to ensure qualitative, practical and theoretical mastery of the language;

4.2 Prior to 1 September 1989, improve the existing and develop new variants of academic programs on Latvian language and literature for the general-educational

schools. Announce contests for compilation of Latvian-language textbooks and literature as well, if in accordance with the improved programs on these subjects new textbooks are needed;

4.3 Prior to 1 September 1990, develop academic programs on Latvian language and literature for secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized academic institutions wherein instruction is in the Latvian language;

4.4 Beginning with the 1989/90 academic year, within the total number of hours stipulated in the academic plan, increase the number of Latvian language classes at general-educational schools in the republic; in all secondary vocational-technical schools of Latvian SSR ministries and departments; and at associations, enterprises and organizations of union-level subordination situated on republic territory; and also at secondary specialized academic institutions of republic and union-level subordination wherein the language of instruction is Russian or another language;

4.5 At all VUZ's, secondary vocational-technical schools and secondary specialized academic institutions in the republic, organize a course in the culture of the Latvian and Russian languages, without increasing the total number of lesson-hours stipulated in the academic plan;

4.6 In order to resolve more expeditiously the question of Latvian-language teacher cadres at schools wherein the language of instruction is Russian, beginning 1 September 1989, where necessary open instructor classes and organize a special course in them with a reduced period of training for the purpose of training teachers in this subject for work in Grades 1-4 of the general-educational schools;

4.7 In order to provide the republic's academic institutions qualified instructors for teaching the Latvian language, increase the acceptance of students at the day division of the Latvian State University imeni P. Stuchki, at the Liepaya State Teachers' Institute imeni V. Latsis, at the Daugavpils Teachers' Institute imeni Ya. Kaliberzin, and at the Rezekne Teachers' College by a total of 150 persons in 1989, and by 50 in 1990 and 1991 respectively.

The proposal to accept students and pupils at higher and secondary specialized academic institutions shall be included in the draft plans for 1990 and 1991 and submitted to Latvian SSR Gosplan.

Beginning 1 January 1989, a stipend shall be established for students specializing in Latvian Language and Literature, not to exceed the amount stipulated by Resolution No 421 of the Latvian CP Central Committee and LaSSR Council of Ministers of 19 July 1983 for students specializing in Russian Language and Literature in the National School.

4.8 Beginning with the 1989/90 academic year, in accordance with orders placed by institutions and organizations, commence training interpreters at the Latvian State University imeni P. Stuchki from among the students specializing in the study of the Latvian language and Russian language;

4.9 In 1989, establish a practical Latvian language department at the Latvian State University imeni P. Stuchki, and instruct it to coordinate methodological questions on teaching the Latvian language and the republic's VUZ's;

4.10. Beginning in 1989, organize courses for instructions and teachers who teach the Latvian language at labor collectives;

4.11 Organize a school on the humanities in 1989, together with the Latvian republic department of the Soviet Cultural Fund.

5. The Latvian SSR State Committee on Culture shall:

5.1 Commencing 1 January 1990, gradually increase the printing capacity for the needs of the Zvaygzne Publishing House and provide it the appropriate supplies of paper in order to publish, in accordance with the order of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education, the necessary textbooks, teaching aids, and methodological and instructional literature; and, find an opportunity to duplicate the originals of textbooks for wide discussion;

5.2 Find an opportunity to publish monographs on pedagogical subjects, research results and other analogous materials;

5.3 Ensure that all academic materials are published with high-quality materials (format, paper, illustrations, arrangement and binding);

5.4 Publish dictionaries for the needs of the pupils, students, teachers and instructors, and also for cadets studying languages:

Latvian-Russian Dictionary (1991);

Russian-Latvian Conversation (1991);

Brief Dictionary of Foreign Words (1995);

Etymological Dictionary of the Latvian Language (1991);

Compact Latvian-Russian and Russian-Latvian Dictionary (1991);

Dictionary of Artistic Terms (1993);

Dictionary of Textile Industry Terms (1989); and

Dictionary of Synonyms of the Latvian Language (1995);

5.5 Increase the circulation of editions of Latvian fictional literature for pre-school children, and prepare a reader for children's literature.

6. Ministries, state committees and departments of the Latvian SSR shall offer authors developing original textbooks published in the republic sabbaticals of up to three months, while continuing to pay their average wages from their permanent place of employment.

7. The Latvian SSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting shall, commencing in 1989, increase to two hours a month the volume of television broadcasts on Latvian language study; and shall introduce the use of captions for translation of the most important socio-political television broadcasts in the Latvian and Russian language, along with simultaneous translation by means of radio channels.

8. The Latvian SSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Latvian SSR State Committee on Culture, the Latvian SSR "Znanie" Society, the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council, creative societies in the republic, and the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines shall carry out publicity work via the mass information media on the necessity giving the Latvian language the status of state language, and on the possibilities for the functioning of the other languages in the republic.

9. Ministries, state committees and departments of the Latvian SSR, and executive committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies, as well as the administrators of enterprises, institutions and organizations, shall guarantee:

9.1 the use of the Latvian language in the spheres of education, science, technology, culture, health-care, domestic services, and other spheres and in their office work; and they shall prepare the necessary cadres and acquire the necessary equipment for this purpose;

9.2 the opportunity to study the Latvian (or Russian) language to specialists and workers in all branches. Special attention shall be devoted to ensure that specialists and workers—whose activities are connected with services to the public at state institutions, as well as in the spheres of trade, domestic services, municipal facilities, public transportation, communication, education, health-care, social security, culture, justice and preservation of public order—shall master the Latvian language;

9.3 that waiting rooms, conference rooms and clubs are supplied with the equipment necessary for simultaneous translation, and that they shall recruit the necessary specialists;

9.4 that special terminology is developed for the Latvian language. In cooperation with the Terminological Commission of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, language specialists and industrial branch specialists shall

be recruited, who shall develop training aids and compact conversation books for self-study, and language classes, to include the lexicon of the corresponding industrial branches; and shall ensure the publishing of these training aids and dictionaries.

10. The Riga gramophone record plant together with the Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education shall, commencing in 1989, develop audio training aids for mastering the Latvian language.

The Latvian SSR Trade Ministry shall order the necessary gramophone records and tape cassettes for sale in retail trade.

11. In 1989 the Latvian Kino Creative Production Association shall commence preparation of video recordings of a Latvian language study course and shall distribute them at video tape rental points.

12. Latvian SSR Gosplan, Gossnab and Goskomtrud shall, prior to 1 February 1989, examine, in conjunction with the order placed by the Latvian SSR State Committee on Culture and Ministry of Public Education, the question of furnishing additional material resources for the 1989 production of means for studying the Latvian language.

13. The Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education as well as other ministries and state committees and departments shall, prior to 1 February 1989, present proposals to the Latvian SSR Ministry of Finance on allocation of additional appropriations for financing the measures envisaged by this decree in 1989.

[Signed] V. Rymashevskiy, Deputy Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

K. Latsis, Administrator of Affairs of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

Riga, 29 December 1988

Commentary by the Council of Ministers Affairs Administration

*18000915 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
23 Apr 89 p 2*

[Commentary by the Administration of Affairs of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] The basic measures on study of the Latvian language, contained in the published decree of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, takes in far from the entire range of questions defined and regulated by the draft language law.

Therefore, work continues on providing a program of full-fledged use of the Latvian language in all spheres of state and social life. The republic Council of Ministers and a special committee created by it for this purpose will be taking up this work.

It remains to specify the categories and the number of people working, for whom the knowledge of two languages is mandatory, and also the amount of knowledge of the Latvian and Russian languages for them. This applies first of all to workers in all spheres of state administration and services to the public. And these questions are being thoroughly examined in parallel at the branch ministries and departments.

The republic government and its commissions are devoting special attention to the problems connected with translating office work into the Latvian language. A list of documents must be drawn up, which must be filled out in the Latvian language; the number of administrative documents subject to transactions in the Latvian language should be delimited from the normative-technical, planning and other documents, wherein it is not always possible to use the Latvian language. And questions will have to be resolved, connected with the translation into Latvian of materials from state statistics, banking and other documentation.

The administrative authorities shall centrally ensure the introduction of typewriters with the Latvian alphabet; re-issue terminological bulletins previously published in the news of the Academy of Sciences; organize inter-branch short-term courses for office workers; and issue an inter-departmental normative and methodological set of documents, which define the degree of use of the Latvian language in normative-technical, planning and other documentation. At the same time they must necessarily bear in mind that many documents go beyond the borders of the republic, where the actions of a number of administrative organs are distributed as well.

As one can see from this far from complete list of measures, providing the administrative staff at all levels with cadres who have mastered the two languages to the degree required, and creating the proper material-technical base, will require careful consideration, not to mention a considerable amount of financial means—which the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the ministries and departments are faced with seeking out, in the conditions of transferring the republic to principles of self-administration and self-financing.

While drawing up measures for implementing the Latvian SSR Law on Languages, the republic Council of Ministers is proceeding from the principle that the deadlines for its realization must not be too short, which permits precluding any grievances in this delicate sphere of human relations.

**Lawyer Contends LaSSR Draft Language Law
Discriminates Against Russian-Only Speakers**
18000596 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
19 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by G. Morozli, jurist: "From a Lawyer's Viewpoint"]

[Text] When one reads carefully the Latvian SSR draft language law, one cannot fail to notice that some of its provisions contradict the USSR Constitution. This applies especially to Article 6 of the draft law.

Let us look at the Constitution. Article 40 says: "USSR citizens have the right to work, including the right to choose their occupation, area of study and job in accordance with their inclination, abilities, vocational training and education, taking into account the needs of society." Article 26 says: "USSR citizens of various races and nationalities have equal rights." These rights are ensured "...by the opportunity to use one's native language and the languages of other USSR peoples." Finally, Article 39 establishes that "USSR citizens possess in all their entirety the socio-economic, political and personal rights and freedoms declared and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws."

And now, let us return to Article 6 of the draft language law. The requirement that a specified group of workers must know and use both Latvian and Russian to the extent necessary to discharge professional obligations contradicts the above mentioned articles of the USSR Constitution.

Adoption of the law with Article 6 formulated in this way would mean that many thousands of skilled specialists who do not know Latvian or know it only slightly and who work in the organs of state power, in the legal-protection organs, in health care, in commerce, in service establishments, in transportation, in municipal services and in other sectors will have to leave that work which was chosen on the basis of inclination and abilities. Consequently, it is primarily the fate of the Russian-speaking population—numbering nearly one million people—which the law will affect. It will always be possible to let a worker go with the explanation that he does not know Latvian well enough, i.e. he has only conversational skills in the language.

It is appropriate to cite here once again Article 36 of the USSR Constitution, which says: "Any infringement of rights—no matter how direct or indirect—or the establishment of direct or indirect advantages for citizens on the basis of racial or nationality features is punishable by law."

Those who are not inclined to adhere strictly to the USSR Constitution today because they consider it a product of the stagnant period should be reminded of the

basic requirement for the law of any state as well as for international law: a law which has been adopted is in effect until it is revoked according to the established procedure.

Nor should it be forgotten that the provisions of the USSR Constitution on this question correspond fully to the requirements of international legal documents.

For example, the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948 declares in Article 21: "Every person has the right of equal access to state services in his own country," while Article 23 says: "Every person has the right to labor and to the free choice of work." This same principle is incorporated into the summary document of the Vienna Conference on Security in Europe, in which the European states are directed "to ensure human rights and basic freedoms within their boundaries, without regard to race, skin color, sex, language or religion."

In its current form the draft language law will also affect the vital interests of a certain segment of the Latvian population because, in accordance with Article 6, many workers will have to know both Latvian and Russian well enough to discharge professional obligations. For a lawyer, engineer, or enterprise manager it is not enough to know only conversational speech in the second language.

It is difficult to attain complete mastery of another language within a few years. If you recall, the speeches by the orators at the founding congresses of the Latvian People's Front, Interfront and the Forum of the Latvian Peoples were badly translated; sometimes there was even distortion of the meaning. And Latvian television, it would seem, employs experienced translators and commentators.

At present a majority of the official economic, legal or other documents are prepared in Latvian by Latvians and in Russian by Russians. As soon as this situation is disturbed, confusion and misunderstandings will inevitably arise. This will not enrich either the Latvian or Russian language; on the contrary, it will clutter them up. Consequently, the requirement of Article 37 of the draft law concerning responsibility for distortion in official documents and texts can not be fulfilled, at least not seriously.

Everything that has been said confirms once again the need for fundamental revision of the draft law.

Director of Jelgava's Riga Automobile Factory Criticized
18080041 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
21 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Article by Guntis Rozenbergs: "The Victory March Continues"]

[Text] We all remember quite well the days a few years ago, when the director of Jelgava's RAF (Riga Automobile

Factory) was being elected. The commotion was tremendous! This was the first time that the director was chosen by the workers themselves, who were organizing a competition. Not having found a good man in their collective, they elected a stranger, nursing hopes that he would honor Latvia, work miracles here, and—help us improve our material situation.

Time passed, and every day we became more familiar with Comrade Boserts' deeds. To fulfill the plan he did not protect the workers' health, did not divide the days into workdays and holidays, and did not count work hours. The improvement of lifestyle and working conditions slipped away into the most insignificant plan. However, "fantastic" autos were produced.

So that we would not forget him, every now and then the director would remind us of his power. Charity. Donations. The "round tables" and Central Television films.

The little ram and his horns grew. Now he has assume a mighty stance: as I command, so it will be in Jelgava...Does it not seem that the Comrade Director and the supporters of his politics want to transform the city into "Togliatti"—one single industry?!

Then we were playing. We played democracy. We held its introductory course. Now the fruits are beginning to ripen...

Boserts' latest speeches and actions have greatly agitated Jelgava's citizens and many inhabitants of Latvia. Not in jest. For your insight we present a few of their letters.

Did or does Jelgava have the work force residue to build a gigantic (when compared with the size of Jelgava) factory? Almost all of the workers and the director, including the main specialists necessary for RAF, were and continue to be brought in. At the same time in many regions of the USSR there is a work force surplus. The factory's existence in Jelgava, lacking a local work force, is not justified.

As the set wires and details for the minibuses are mainly produced not in Jelgava, but in the cities of the USSR, and a part is probably imported, the optimal geographical location of the RAF factory is—in Soviet territory, but not in Jelgava! That is obvious to each person who even superficially glances at a map of the Soviet Union.

The Latvian press often talks about the tense situation in the electrical supply. Fifty percent of Latvia's required electricity is obtained from other Soviet regions. It would

be logical for a factory to be located in a district where there is a surplus of resources. Would a nuclear power-station really have to be built in Jelgava in place of RAF?!

The factory's finished product is distributed to the whole Soviet Union. That too is not economically justifiable, because Jelgava is not located in the center of the USSR, but on the periphery.

In our view the RAF factory in Jelgava is a shining example of economic absurdity from the "good old" stagnation times, with all of that period's many problems and follies.

The RAF problem is relevant today because there is a project to triple its capacity, i.e. to produce 50,000 microbuses per year instead of 17,000. In our opinion, that means only that the project's authors want to triple the mistakes of the stagnation era. For the expansion and reconstruction of RAF, 150 million rubles have been allocated, so that this money would not have to be used for the building of a new factory in a suitable place. Can officials' whims and caprices really be placed higher than objective economic laws! If we want to bring our economy in order, then everything must be stopped! We hold that, both in the construction of RAF and in the planned expansion, the laws of economics were not and are not being considered. Until the factory's specialists and the city executive committee submit to the public an economic basis for the factory's construction and its planned expansion, we view the presence of RAF in Jelgava as having not economic, but political reasons.

The factory in Jelgava was built to forcefully bring into actuality the once popular theory about the merging of nations and the creation of a new social community—the Soviet people. Although this theory is no longer officially being popularized, bitter experience shows that its supporters today are still the masters of the situation. Carrying out this theory, in the postwar period around 1.3 million non-Latvians were flooded into Latvia. In their own land Latvians currently comprise less than half of the entire population of Latvia. In Daugavpils—only 12.8 percent, and in Riga—one third of the number of inhabitants.

We consider the presence of the Olaine Chemical Plant, the Daugavpils Synthetic Fiber Production Association, the Ogre Weaving and Knitting Production Association, the Riga Civil Aviation Engineering Institute, robot factory, Liepaja's "Lauma," and many other enterprises in Latvia to be explained by the wish of certain circles to more quickly, if possible, assimilate Latvians with other peoples of the USSR and create a cosmopolitan mass of people without roots and national origin. We ask that the work of the RAF expansion project be brought to a halt and that another location be sought for its actualization—outside Latvia's territory.

In the name of the Jelgava network support group of the Latvian People's Front—J. Ziemelis.

Director!

All that we will say follows from your speech published in the newspaper DARBA UZVARA on 21 January.

In it you say that the intellectuals have seized power. You probably mean the "nationalists" Janis Peters, Dainis Ivans, Juris Bojars, and many others. As far as we know, since 1940 there have been no coups or revolutions, but then, to your joy, the intellectual did not seize power. We completely shut out the further existence and development of our society without the intelligentsia.

"Incompetent persons" (intellectuals) understand that RAF alone will not save the republic's economy. Can you expand RAF enough to be able to provide us with, as you yourself say, "something to swallow" and the rest?

You even refer to Marx. But, as far as we know, K. Marx was neither a proletarian nor an engineer, the same with V. Lenin, and yet his intelligence did not hinder him from creating and leading the new Soviet nation in all spheres. The conviction that to be an intelligent person is simply fabulous has grown in us, for that is a thoroughly developed personality with a high level of culture and intellect, not a person with one or two university degrees. Yes, the inhabitants' and people's quality is really low here, as you say. However, we would not say that about the natives, but rather about those retired officers and other immigrants, who have settled in the republic in the last 20 years, who are called the "Soviet people," and came here seeking a higher living standard. But in Omsk is the people's "quality" higher?

How did you achieve the profitability of such a huge factory as RAF for our little Latvia, if all or the largest part of the work force you recruited from other republics (for whom, of course, it is not "necessary"), while creating here a catastrophic, mechanical increase in the population, also bringing in all the raw materials, but transporting out 91% of the finished product? Perhaps the self-financing in Latvia is a nightmare or demagogy, but, nevertheless, we think Latvia is an agricultural land. Even because there has been preserved "incorrect" data that Latvia was among the number of the most developed agricultural nations. Even in the geographical encyclopedia ("The World's Nations and Peoples," 1978) it is not written that in Latvia coal, iron ore and oil are obtained, even gold does not exist! But there are wood, clay, sand and dolomite, and the main thing—good land, suited for agriculture. So where are the preconditions for the development of industry, the economically advantageous preconditions?

Yes, truly, many of those who have emigrated and abandoned their Motherland Latvia sympathize with the People's Front. But you must know that the majority of them did so to avoid being executed during Stalin's repressions. But you are applauded by those people, who have truly betrayed their fatherland and nation, and abandoned it to live here, where there is a higher living standard than in other regions.

Yes, truly, on the foundation of the friendship of nations and peoples perestroika is possible, but only not by relying on immigrants. An immigrant, in our opinion, does not belong to any nation—he is an immigrant, and that is it. In a strange land one cannot preserve one's national wealth and national culture.

Those people that speak one language will not be able to realize perestroika there, where they must speak the language of that nation, in which you live; it would be very unfortunate if our children were one day to say—yes, that is our RAF, which gives the maximal profit to the republic—nine percent (being under All-Union jurisdiction)—but there is the most intelligent collective and few of those that speak Latvian.

There are also other interests and needs besides “something to swallow”-human ones. The People's Front understands this and does not choose the aim—store shelves full of foodstuffs, but rather—to preserve the language of the Latvian nation and its economic and political independence. Of course, for you, who think about grandiose plans for RAF expansion, who think on the scale of the entire nation, the Latvian people's efforts at economic independence and sovereignty seem a foolishness not to be taken into account.

The People's Front support group of the Latvian Agricultural Academy Administration (26 signatures)

One would like to know how Boserts, wishing to become a Supreme Soviet deputy, would represent the interests of the Latvian people, if he calls it “the nation of no quality.” And what is then a “nation of quality”? With such a theory armed men have several times already crossed Latvian soil. Only this time, the oddest thing is that the nation has to elect such a tribune to the supreme state organ. According to the ideas of the would-be deputy, Latvia must remain a departmental appendage, and accordingly the city of Jelgava is only an “addition to the factory.” Obsessed with industrial gigantism, Boserts has forgotten that Jelgava's city history reaches back well into the eighth century, or maybe that does not even interest him, as a higher class specialist. We were all convinced of Boserts' higher professional gifts a few years ago, when he became the winner of the director competition. Then it seemed that in him Latvia had gained a both professionally and intellectually gifted person. What can you do, I guess most often we happen to be disappointed in people...

Lecturers and staff of the Riga Food Industry Mechanics and Technology Technical School (seven signatures)

I probably will not be around in the year 2000. I fear that Latvia will also be no longer, if we retreat...

When his rivals said about Boserts (a German, according to his passport) that he had gotten his place in RAF through boasting and empty promises, I too thought that it was simply jealousy. Now I see that it was not. He gained popularity by supporting culture (mainly non-Latvian), children's homes, etc. He supposedly rarely shows up in the factory, and substitutes usually come to meetings (reports). In the city party conference he spoke up against the Latvian People's Front (it reproached him for extensive and ecologically unsanitary production), against the priority of agriculture, and for the extensive development of production, provocatively threatening unemployment in 1995 (due to the narrowing of industry). He moves to close the small industries vitally necessary for Jelgava. Not saying a word about the automobile factory, which does not do anything for Latvia. (I am not referring to the agricultural machine plant.) Until Latvia's plants are led and controlled by national personnel, or at least those interested in Latvia's prosperity, nothing good can be expected. The fewer orators, outwardly adventurist and careerist types, the better for Latvia. Boserts is interested only in his own career, therefore we cannot wonder that he, and those like him, do not want to see Latvians in leading posts.

I do not believe eloquent leaders that rattle like machine-guns. What has he modernized in the plant, and how has he improved working conditions for workers?...Those like Boserts will bolt, as soon as it gets better elsewhere.

A. Vitola

The Russian and Jewish Reply

*18080040 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
2 Feb 89 p 4*

[Article by Vitalijs Kricevskis, journalist, vice chairman of the Latvian Jewish Cultural Association, and Vladimir Steshenko, journalist, chairman of the Baltic Slavic Association: “Satisfaction Isn't Necessary”]

[Text] It looks very ridiculous and absurd—a person has been given the fig, but in all seriousness, indignant, he writes protests...In the magazine ZILITE (Issue I, 1989) appears a drawing of a Jew with a long nose and a bureaucrat with a Russian helmet on his head, and young Lacplešis (a Latvian folklore hero) is shooting at the bureaucrat's eye with a catapult. Ludicrous pictures, in the style of the whole issue. Therefore, the fig has already been mentioned. A fig which creates a serious reaction. Why? Because the situation in our republic is too serious to leave any manifestation of national intolerance unnoticed (even just a hint of such manifestation!).

Yes, yes, we know what the objections will be: that is avantgarde art characteristic of Ivars Poikans' style; neither the author nor the editors had anything evil in mind; one cannot please everyone, and so forth. And we are ready to recognize all these objections as completely

founded. But a fact remains a fact—thousands of Latvians, Russians, and Jews are calling and writing, expressing their shock at the “provocative drawings.” Why could people be indignant and protesting? Why do these illustrations seem offensive to them? We will try to explain, but first we will tell you a little story.

Imagine a young Tatar boy—a first-grader, who has started school in Moscow. Imagine that he takes into his hands the textbook “Native Tongue” (in Russian, of course), opens it, and curiously examines the illustrations. What will the little Tatar boy see in the chapter “Heroes”? He will see the noble Il'ya Muromietis (or Dobrin's N'ikitich—in this case that is not important) fighting with the villainous, from his appearance frightening, Tatar Tugarin (Tugarin's physiognomy is disgustingly crooked, and not very flattering epithets are dedicated to him, but we are not even talking about the constant victories of Russian warriors over the base Tatars.) Thus begins his acquaintance with the history of the relations between Russians and Tatars. Nothing changes for the better, even as he gets older—the interpretation of historical events remains the same—one-sided, biased...But everything, of course, began with the drawings. How will his peers treat this young Tatar boy? What will he himself feel, and how will he act? Should he start to hate Russians?...

Do not think that this story is a product of the imagination. This situation is completely real.

Exactly 70 years ago Maxim Gorky wrote, “it is unfair and absurd to put the blame on an entire people for crimes which were and are encouraged by people who lead it with their unorganized will...If this responsibility is put on the entire nation, then it turns out that we Russians are guilty because, following Suvorov's order, we went to war against the French people, who rose up for the Great Revolution; the French are guilty because they subjugated the Algerians and other African peoples into slavery; the English workers—forced the Indians into slavery, the Russian people—the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia, and so on, without end. If it is so, then all peoples are criminal; all are splashed from head to toe with the blood of those like them.”

Therefore—does the bureaucrat have to be depicted with a Russian helmet on his head? Does his national status have any relevance in this case? Did the fact that the people, who until now have held the reigns of republic leadership and have sold Latvia off right and left, were Latvians, hinder them in the least from doing so?

Therefore, can the caricature about the Jew be drawn by a non-Jew, and the one about the Latvian by a non-Latvian? Does an artist, whose works as if transgress generally-accepted notions about painting (and that is fantastic!), without whom it is, luckily, impossible to imagine today's Latvian art palette, an artist, who represents a small people fighting for its independence and

the blooming of its culture—may this artist draw a caricature about another small people, whose culture, art, and language itself were destroyed by the horrible Soviet bureaucratic machine?

The saddest thing is that these drawings have appeared in a children's magazine. Also sad (although paradoxical) is the fact that these drawings were created with talent—that means that they will remain in the mind for a long time! Now go and try to explain to a child that Russians are not to blame for Latvia's misery (just like Russia's), but rather the System. If in the Russians' place there were Japanese, who would work in the same system, the result would be the same. Try now to explain to a child that the Jew, who has just now received a certain hope for the rebirth of his trampled-on national life, is not at all a comical, rather a tragic figure.

We are not asking our colleagues for the admission of error, an apology, satisfaction, and similar things. Now that would really be absurd and comical. It would be much better, if in the future ZILITE's editors will find space in the pages of its magazine for favorable stories about the Russian and Jewish people's life and traditions—of course, in a form understandable by children. Ignorance creates adversity and intolerance—that is an axiom. But is best to form the rudiments of knowledge and the good in childhood.

Credit Cards Proposed for Deficit Goods *18080038 Riga CINA in Latvian 11 Feb 89*

[Article by J. Porietis, Latvian State University professor]

[Text] Recently there has been much discussion about the just distribution of deficit goods, first of all about providing the republic's population with them. I think that for the solution the introduction of special credit cards could prove useful.

Today this is objectively required by the need to avert the speculative, spontaneous outflow of deficit goods out of the republic, by the provision of their socially just distribution in the republic, and by the gradual transition to more up-to-date types of payment and means of circulation.

But the introduction of a new way of additional payment and means of circulation could not be more expensive than the effect of the acquired economic, social and psychological use; its functioning regulations must be elastically changeable in various parts of the republic, and in the aspects of the season; its use could not especially complicate the work of trade and financial workers; these means of payment should help to better provide social justice in the distribution of material goods, and they could not be inconvenient for the users. In my opinion, then, such an aim would be best met by special credit cards as a singular replacement of money.

When introducing credit cards it would only be necessary to observe a few basic requirements. They must be printed on watermark paper to prevent forging. Place must be provided for a twofold user signature—the first time, when receiving this card, and the second time—when completing the necessary payment. In the card the republic's inhabitants can receive up to 80 rubles per month from their basic income—salaries, pensions, stipends, and not more than 1500 rubles each year from their deposits in the Savings Bank, according to their average size in our republic in the last years.

From supplemental income—royalties, work wages for connecting posts, contract work and other work—citizens could receive no more than a fourth in their credit cards. Each would be able to use this portion of his income for the acquiring of deficit and high-demand goods, whose list, according to the dimensions of their market fund, would be established by local deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities, and would be revised when the situation changed. On the other hand, only the republic's Council of Ministers would be competent to revise the dimensions of the portion of income receivable in the credit card, guiding itself by the volume proportion of existing financial resources at the disposal of permanent residents of the Latvian SSR and of the existing foods in the territory. It would be useful to also utilize credit cards for the sale of necessary production resources and building materials for holders of personal subsidiary plots and other types of individual producers in the countryside.

Then several requirements and regulations would have to be observed.

The release of pure money into circulation would have to be strictly limited according to the value of credit cards issued to citizens. On their own part, citizens would have the right to receive the card value due them in normal money bills, as well as to exchange them in any case, accordingly erasing the card with their second signature.

Retail enterprises would settle accounts in a wholesale enterprise with the value of the received cards, for those deficit goods whose list the local Soviet has established. In turn, the wholesale enterprise would submit the received cards to the bank, which would enter the corresponding sum in the settlement account.

The introduction of credit cards, of course, will require additional expenditures. The unique character of their use is also not useful, when considering the cards as a replacement of money in its fulfillment of means of payment and circulation functions. Obviously, other organizational and possibly even additional psychological difficulties will arise, which will have to be additionally researched and overcome. The introduction of such cards will also require much explanation, for each new phenomenon is received at the beginning with a certain

caution. That is why all the pluses and possible minuses of introduction should first be broadly and thoroughly discussed both in the ranks of corresponding specialists and among the citizenry.

Taking into account that the circulation of retail trade in the republic is already nearing five billion rubles annually, and that according to a few estimates, the demand temporarily not covered by goods and services resembles approximately 700 million rubles, as well as that large deficit good masses often flow spontaneously and uncontrolled out of the republic, the introduction of credit cards can have a meaningful role in the normalization of the situation.

The economic situation of the Baltic Soviet republics is more or less similar, therefore perhaps we should also determine whether it is not suitable to introduce a unified credit card in the entire region, in perspective also including the Kaliningrad region, and later on Byelorussia too?... That is why, on the instructions of the republic's government, we are studying all the questions mentioned here under the leadership of Arnis Kalnins, academician of the Latvian People's Front Economic Committee. Therefore we will expect each of your opinions on this matter.

**LaSSR SUPSOV Presidium Juridical Department
Comments on Draft Language Law**
18000914 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
23 Apr 89 p 3

[Report from LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Juridical Department: "Commentary on the LaSSR Draft Language Law"]

[Text] On 1 and 2 February popular discussion ceased on the Latvian SSR Law on Languages that had been published in republic newspapers. The discussion demonstrated the enormous interest of the republic's citizens, and thanks to many concrete suggestions, it provided an opportunity to spot the most reliable approaches to solving questions of the function of languages in the republic.

On the basis of the suggestions offered in the course of popular discussion of the draft law, the commission drew up an improved version of the draft, which was approved on 11 April by the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The republic Supreme Soviet will submit the draft Language Law published today to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet for examination on 5 May 1989.

The new edition of the draft law contains many significant changes.

First of all, taking into account the many suggestions, the draft law has been shortened, and made more specific and exact. Its structure has become clearer and simpler.

In place of the 37 articles in the previously-published draft, the current draft contains 22; and a preamble has been introduced which defines the concept of the draft law and provides the grounds for its necessity.

The need to shorten the draft law was brought about by basically three circumstances.

First of all, in order to ensure that the law be as specific as possible, many articles of the preceding draft law which were of a purely declaratory nature were deleted.

Secondly, the authors of the draft considered it necessary to refrain from repetitious regulation of those questions which in the sphere of language use are already regulated in laws which already exist (for example, in the sphere of conducting office work and cases on legal and administrative violations, which are defined by the Latvian SSR Constitution, and by other laws. It is natural that while working on improvements to the given laws, which contain the norms on the question of language, they will have to be re-examined in connection with the demands of the present day).

Thirdly, while making improvements to the draft law, the need arises for more clear-cut delimitation of the functions of the organs of state power and state administration in questions of language regulation. Along with this, while making improvements to the draft it was taken into consideration that the law must contain the most important, principled questions, regulations and decisions on specific questions remaining for the organs of state administration, in accordance with the jurisdiction defined for them by law. Proceeding from this, a number of articles have been formulated for the draft law; for example, part two of article four, part three of article seven, and articles 12 and 13.

Central to the draft law is Section Two, which defines the rights of citizens to choice of language. Part one of article four essentially contains the most important principle in the sphere of language use: "In relations with the organs of state power and state administration, as well as with institutions, enterprises and organizations, the citizen chooses the language of conversation, information and documentation." This in the given norm practically guarantees a citizen's right to use his own native language, to receive an oral or written reply in the language in which the citizen appeals to the organs of state power or state administration, and institutions, enterprises and organizations.

It is true, that while proceeding from the real possibilities of today, it is necessary to speak basically of the legal guarantees for using two languages in the republic—Latvian as the state language, and Russian as one of the languages of international intercourse.

In order to realize these rights, part two of article four includes a norm, in accordance with which "All officials of the organs of state power and state administration, as

well as institutions, enterprises and organizations, whose obligations include dealings with citizens, must know and use both the Latvian and the Russian language in the volume necessary to carry out their professional obligations." The draft law of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, "On the Procedure for Putting the Latvian SSR Law on Languages into Effect," it is stipulated that this norm will go into effect three years from the date of publication of the Law "On Languages."

Therefore, in order to support putting the law into effect, in the future the organs of state administration will be required to clarify two important questions—the categories of those officials whose responsibilities include dealing with the citizens, and also the degree of knowledge of the language necessary to carry out their professional obligations.

It should be especially stressed that the definition itself of the amount of language knowledge will require a very careful and serious approach, which corresponds to the nature of the activity of the organs of state power and state administration; the institutions, enterprises and organizations; and the amount of official responsibilities of the officials that work in them.

Included in the draft is a norm which states that officials whose responsibilities include dealing with the citizens must know and use both the Latvian and Russian languages. In the course of the discussion there were objections to this norm. The idea was expressed that this norm contradicts the constitutional rights of the citizens—the right to work and the right to choose one's profession. The error of such a view becomes obvious upon more careful acquaintance with the Constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR. Article 38 of the Latvian SSR Constitution does indeed guarantee to all citizens of the Latvian SSR the right to work; but the right to work in accordance with one's calling, capabilities, professional training and education (An analogous norm is contained in Article 40 of the USSR Constitution). As far as those officials are concerned, whose responsibilities include dealing with the citizens, it would be completely logical to demand of them knowledge of two languages, as one of the basic indications of their professional training.

In the course of discussing the draft law published in the press, there was especially sharp reaction to Article 14, in the question of the language of internal office work at institutions, enterprises and organizations. Truly, there are many questions in dispute here.

Chief among these is the question of the possibility of really transferring office work at institutions, enterprises and organizations into the state language—Latvian. Besides, the term "office work" includes various documents—organizational and instructive, financial and

statistical; bookkeeping accounts; and trade, design, technical and other documentation. As a whole, office work consists of 15 kinds of the widest variety of documents.

Therefore, while drawing up the draft law on languages, apparently it would be improper to set the task of translating all office work into the Latvian language. At the same time the authors of the draft also understood that in order to support the basic principle contained in Article 4 of the draft law—the principle of free choice of language—a certain volume of documents, depending on their nature and significance, should be in the state language. At the very same time, the principle of free choice of language and the real situation at many enterprises and organizations in the republic, brings about the necessity to provide the possibility to those citizens who do not know the Latvian language, to use the Russian language also in their work relationships. Therefore, there are a lot of problems and questions here. But the solution of the given questions falls under the jurisdiction of the organs of state administration. In accordance with this, Article 7 of the draft law has been formulated and approved, in which it points out that the language of office work at institutions, enterprises and organizations is the state language.

The use of Russian and other languages in documenting the activity of institutions, enterprises and organizations in the Latvian SSR is determined by the SaSSR Council of Ministers, taking into consideration the principles of the given law and the suggestions of the soviets at the working collectives.

In the course of the discussion, a lot of suggestions were made about the use of languages in education, science and cultural life. In the present variant of the draft law, five articles are dedicated to this. Article 11 of the draft language law was formulated in accordance with the requirements of Article 4 of the Law on Popular Education in the Latvian SSR, which affirms the principle of the equal right of all citizens to receive an education, and free choice of the language of training.

Thus, Article 11 points out that in the republic the right to a receive a general secondary education in the Latvian or the Russian language is guaranteed. The state is also creating conditions to ensure the right to education in one's native language also to those citizens of other nationalities, living in the republic.

Widely differing points of view were expressed in the course of discussing the draft and in the process of improving it at the session of the commission, on the question of providing instruction in the Russian language at secondary-specialized and vocational-technical schools and at higher educational institutions. Having carefully weighed all the points of view expressed, and having heard the suggestions of the standing commissions, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium approved Article 12 of the present variant of the draft, in

an edition according to which the Latvian SSR guarantees instruction at secondary-special and vocational-technical schools and at higher educational institutions in both the Latvian and the Russian languages.

Thus, the previously-mentioned Latvian SSR Law on Popular Education was also taken into account here. Article 12 also includes a norm which stipulates that the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers determines the list of specialties (with respect to language of instruction).

As in the past the draft preserves a very important norm—on studying the Latvian language at educational institutions with a different language of instruction; it also stipulates passing an examination on the state language upon graduation from a secondary-specialized or higher educational institution (Article 13).

Taking into account the numerous suggestions, the authors of the draft managed to more successfully formulate the norm on the use of language in the area of culture (Article 15). Here special stress is given to the obligation of the state to ensure the development of all national cultures in their native language; it also guarantees the use of the Latvian language and sayings, the written Latgalian language, and the preservation of the culture of the Livians in the Livian language.

Section Six of the draft includes a new norm, according to which a responsible official or a worker in the services sphere, whose responsibilities include dealing with the citizens, must make restitution for the injury to a citizen because of not knowing the Latvian or Russian languages.

After adoption of the law, Article 23 of the draft law will need to be made more concrete, after stipulating in the laws of the republic the liability for violating the rights of the citizens to free choice of language. The first step in this direction might be establishing administrative liability and introducing the necessary changes to the Latvian SSR Code on Administrative Law Violations.

In consideration of the countless letters and protests, significant changes have been made to the draft law of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, "On the Procedure for Putting into Effect the Latvian SSR Law on Languages." Differentiation was made in the deadlines for specific articles in the law to go into effect. The draft does not envisage exceptions or special deadlines for the transition to the state language for the rayons and cities of Latvia. Point Two of the draft law also envisages a norm according to which, under necessary circumstances, the deadlines for putting the law into effect may be extended by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Finally, the law does not regulate the use of languages in the USSR armed forces; nor in border, internal and railroad troops located on the territory of the Latvian SSR; but the rules of Part One of Article Seven of the law

(office work at institutions, enterprises and organizations) does not pertain to state institutions which realize their administrative functions with respect to organizations located on the territory of several union republics. It must be noted that here the authors of the draft had in mind those institutions, enterprises and organizations whose activities are carried out simultaneously on the territories of several union republics: for example, the administration of the Baltic Railroad. But even at these institutions, officials who work on the territory of the Latvian SSR must provide official information in the Latvian language. Moreover, the requirements of those articles of the draft law which must provide the citizens the right to free choice of language, including the right to use the state—Latvian—language also fully apply to these institutions, enterprises and organizations (Article 4; Article 7, Part 2; Articles 7, 8, 9, 17 and others).

Charges Levied in Minsk Pre-Election Demonstration

18000980 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 31 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview by BELTA Correspondent A. Kryzhanovskiy with P. Stepanchuk, Minsk deputy public prosecutor: "From A Headache..."]

[Text] The events which occurred on the eve of election day at the House of the Press in Minsk (they were reported in the press) continue to upset people. The telephone at the press agency rings constantly. Individual citizens' letters and collective letters are arriving at the city public prosecutor's office. The majority of their authors express their indignation at the irresponsible and extremist escapade of A. Pushkin and his supporters which is contrary to the Constitution of the USSR. A. Pushkin is a 4th year student of the Belorussian State Theater and Artistic Institute.

We requested comments from the Minsk Deputy Public Prosecutor P. Stepanchuk.

[Stepanchuk] The city office of the public prosecutor instituted proceedings in regards to A. Pushkin in a criminal case based on the fact of organizing and actively participating in group activities which are a breach of public order and also violation of the order of the organization and conduct of gatherings, meetings, street marches, and demonstrations. Last year, administrative action had already been brought against him for appealing for participation in a prohibited meeting. At that time, the court pronounced administrative judgment on him—five days in jail. But, taking the students' and institution administration's petition into account, in which they condemned Pushkin's actions and asked for him to be transferred to the collective's custody and promised to take responsibility for his future conduct, I entered a protest of the court's decision.

This decision was not contested in it, but it was proposed that a much lighter punishment be determined. The protest was approved and punishment was reduced to two days. Several months passed and Pushkin once again revealed himself through his outrageous actions.

A criminal case has been brought in regards to A. Zelenkovskiy who provoked a fight on a bus. Earlier a question was raised about a criminal case brought against A. Zelenkovskiy. He committed an act of hooliganism and struck a girl he did not know. At that time, the case ended in examination by a Comrades' Court.

Among the others made administratively responsible are several men who were warned, four who were penalized with fines of up to 50 rubles, three, [fined] 100 rubles each, and V. Aleksandrovich—[fined] 500 rubles since administrative action had been taken against him earlier for a similar violation.

[Kryzhanovskiy] Could there not turn out to be innocent people among those who had administrative action taken against them?

[Stepanchuk] We warned Pushkin and explained to him on the 22nd of March that everyone who came out on the street with him and got involved in the march organized by him would be charged. He stated that he was consciously violating the law and would warn everyone about this. But irrespective of whether or not Pushkin warned those who gathered about the illegality of their actions, government officials and militia officers addressed them via megaphone and explained the situation. Each of them had time to think it over. Those who gathered had the opportunity to become convinced and understand from the explanations provided that this act was going outside the bounds of the law. And afterward, the militia detained only those who were the most disorderly.

[Kryzhanovskiy] Certain participants in the events are claiming that the court considered statements of militia employees as testimony and allegedly passed sentence on the basis of photographs alone.

[Stepanchuk] The Law does not require calling witnesses in all cases. In accordance with Article 235 of the Administrative Code, the record of evidence is signed by the individual who compiled it and by the individual who committed the administrative violation of the law. When there are witnesses or victims, the record of evidence may also be signed by these individuals. And no judge, who is unfamiliar with the case, will ever render a verdict. Photographs serve as supplementary proof of guilt where the role of the accused is set.

I must also add that I heard the following statement during my first conversation with A. Pushkin: "I personally have no claims against any sergeant or colonel. I consciously violated the Law. I warned my friends about the illegality of these activities."

Readers' Letters in Support of Ukrainian Peoples' Movement Cited

18000880 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
14 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by A. Zonenko: "In the Spirit of Pluralism; On Responses to the Outline of the NDU [Ukrainian People's Movement] Program"]

[Text] "We cannot understand and are surprised by the fact that a number of republic and local newspapers and Ukrainian television and radio not only have not publicized the outline of the Ukrainian People's Movement program in favor of perestroika for general discussion, but are conducting a non-objective, tendentious campaign for the obvious purpose of discrediting the program outline, as well as the very idea of creating a movement, and together with it also the Ukrainian Union of Writers, the initiator of the people's movement".

This is an excerpt from the collective letter by associates at the Uknigprovodkhoz Institute Design Section, signed by R. M. Didukh, V. S. But, Yu. I. Shpakodray, Yu. I. Shuban, V. N. Sarnavskiy, and others.

Here is another letter, also a collective one, from the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Mathematics Institute:

"We believe that any rejection of the people's movement and any inspiration of dissent among the creative intelligentsia, the workers and the peasants is an inhibition of the process of perestroika, and therefore a way of dooming it to failure".

Both letters are addressed to RADYANSKA UKRAINA, PRAVDA UKRAINY, and LITERATURNA UKRAINA.

A letter bearing 44 signatures from Secondary School No 3 in Rovno was addressed to these same newspapers. The teachers write:

"We support the opinion of the workers, peasants, and majority of the intelligentsia regarding the absence of a need for organizing the "people's movement of the Ukraine for perestroika". We have an avant-garde for perestroika—the CPSU. Or is it that the initiators of the NDU do not believe in it? We have a mass organization—the trade unions. Perhaps the initiators do not know that they unite all the workers? Or perhaps they do not like the fact that the trade unions stand on the CPSU platform? It is not difficult to name other mass public organizations in which one can work for perestroika. It is true, however, that working is more difficult than proclaiming slogans and holding meetings".

Further, the pedagogs analyze the outline of the NDU program. They believe that it contains "numerous excesses", and that it is not difficult to foresee where the

proposed movement leads—"toward dissention, separatism, and nationalism". "Evidently," they write, "the outline of the program is the childhood disease of glasnost, freedom, and false understanding of a sense of national patriotism. But this does not make it easier—there is too much harm in it".

The teachers conclude their letter with the words which M. S. Gorbachev said during a recent visit to Kiev:

"The peoples have never agreed with those who see national rebirth attained by means of aloofness and self-isolation. The appeals dictated by political ambitions, careerism, and simply by open enmity toward socialism, are false, dangerous, and ruinous. We must warn those who spread them that they are playing with fire".

We cannot read without concern the open letter by the veterans of the party, war and labor from the Leninskiy rayon of Kiev, addressed to the governing board of the Ukrainian Writer's Union. The authors of the letter have behind them 65 years of party seniority, difficult and contradictory troubles of the country's and their own personal fate, years of great struggle with fascism, destruction and poverty, and the happiness of victory and rebirth. They know the price of everything—both loud phrases and eloquent silence, both empty promises and selfless labor. Therefore, the concluding lines of their appeal to the writers sound so demanding and at the same time so sincere:

"Do not ever forget that you, the writers, are not only the teachers of the people, but also their sons. The people have the right to demand that you stand worthy of the greatness of their deeds, their revolutionary feats, and the true service to the people and their avant-garde—the Communist Party. We sincerely wish you creative success!"

The open letter to the initiative group of the Kiev organization of the Ukrainian Writer's Union and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Literature Institute imeni T. G. Shevchenko was sent to the editors by delegates from the reporting-electoral conference of veterans of war and labor of the Kominternovskiy rayon in Kharkov. In the name of 240 delegates they write:

"In the most difficult time for our people, when the fate of the Homeland was being determined, we—the soldiers of all nationalities—were in combat with our brothers. Shoulder to shoulder we attacked the enemy, sat side by side in the damp trenches, and shared our last handful of tobacco and our last bit of stale bread. We also had a common language, and understood each other well. Today we are in favor of perestroika. We are also imbued with a sense of love for our native land, for the Ukrainian language and culture. But we are enemies of national isolation! Yet they try to divide us by national principles, to disunite and weaken us with national egoism. We want to live better and understand very well

that today the only way toward this life is not meetings and discussions, but the desire to work better and to think better. And we would like to remind the initiators of the NDU program outline that we must respect other peoples, respect other cultures, and be internationalists".

To be fair, we must say that the letters in support of the NDU quoted at the beginning of this overview were not the only ones we received. They echo the missals of workers from the "Dnipro" publishing house (39 signatures), associates of the SKTB [special design-technology bureau] of the Lvov Yuvelirprom Production Association (86 signatures), and several others which the editors received.

"The newspapers publish only the letters directed against the creation of the people's movement for perestroika and for some reason keep quiet about the letters written in its support. We believe that this does not correspond to the principles of pluralism and democracy".

What can we say to the publishing house workers? For some reason these comrades are trying not to notice such letters, even though they are published both in the republic and in the oblast press. Of course, there are significantly fewer of these, but this is not surprising. There really are few of them as compared with those which are directed against the creation of the people's movement for perestroika. PRAVDA UKRAINY has already written about this. We believe that a pluralism of opinions is present also in the current overview of responses to "Rukh".

Following the same principle of pluralism of opinions, let us present certain other comments from the editorial correspondence—both "pro" and "con". We quote:

"I am decisively in favor! I would only like to stress the notion of the need for saving the national culture and language. In our very own Podolye, even near the most remote villages and country roads, there are signposts in...Russian. This is degrading. Just try, comrade editors, to publish this in your newspaper" (V. V. Kuzma, Khmel-nitskiy).

"I am indignant at the attacks on the NDU and I ask that you publicize this fact through the newspaper and television. Also, please respond to all the Ukrainian people as to why the newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINY is not printed in the Ukrainian language". (I. S. Palazhchenko, Chernigov).

"I am a builder, and therefore I will speak about construction. In the years 1986-1988, 62 million square meters of residential housing have been built—11 million square meters more than the 5-year task. Thus, we have made our contribution to perestroika. Yet if we hold meetings and disperse our efforts on the development of programs and projects of new organizations, there will be no time for anyone to work. If we let the

talkers have free rein—they will drown the living cause of perestroika in a flood of words" (V. I. Andruskiy, brigade leader of the integrated brigade, "Promstroy-2" Construction- Installation Administration, "Kherson-promstroy" Trust).

"Obviously, the compilers of the program outline have lots of free time. That is why they are not doing what perestroika demands. They are thinking of building a superstructure for themselves over the party and the government and striving to gain power through the back door. You see, they do not like the criticism addressed at them in the press. Then what, in their opinion, does pluralism of opinions mean? It turns out that we must agree with only them? Well, no. If you like to ride, you had better like to drag the sled" (A. D. Listovitskiy. Invalid of the war, Grebenka, Poltava Oblast).

We could continue the quotes and recount the contents of letters on the topic in question. The editors have received over 500 such letters, and they are still coming in. Yet we can draw only one conclusion: "We do not need a 'movement' which introduces turmoil for the working people" (M. I. Nesterenko, Chernigov).

It is not too much, we believe, to respond here also to the letter written by the secretary of the Ukrainian Writer's Union governing board, I. Drach, in which he asks that we publish the announcement of the initiative groups—the authors of the "project" outline, and that we reprint the "project" itself. We would like to believe that I. Drach himself had little hope that his request would be realized. This is first of all because the "announcement" was intended for his colleagues in the discussion and was heard by a multi-million audience of television viewers, who were able to objectively evaluate this document. We might ask: Why reproduce it one more time? As for reprinting the "project", judging by the responses, this would be a belated step. Everyone who wanted to has already read it. Moreover, PRAVDA UKRAINY does not reprint materials from other publications.

We would like to say a few words about the tonality of the responses. In their overwhelming majority these are well substantiated, conclusive judgements about the program of perestroika which the CPSU is pursuing and which is entirely approved by the people: Both in its domestic policy and its foreign policy actions, and mainly—in the creation of a healthy socio-political atmosphere in which man is the main object of its worries and concerns.

Yet there are some letters which are demagogic, shouting, even malicious. They contain no thought, not even that frequently mentioned pluralism, but rather categorical affirmations of the type "although I did not read the project, I am 'in favor'", or "whatever you write, I am 'against'". A certain S. Ternovoy from Chernovtsy did

not hold back his emotions: "I will tear out your throats for it, for my language!" he exclaims. He is referring to the Ukrainian language, even though the letter is written in Russian.

And here is another detail. Like the above-mentioned associates of "Ukrgiprovodkhoz", so certain other authors for some reason ascribe the initiative of creating the NDU to the entire Ukrainian Writer's Union. We must remember: There are over 1,000 members of the Writer's Union in the republic, and we may say with full confidence that far from all of them share the thoughts of the initiative group which composed the outline of the "movement" program.

This overview of letters is a unique report to the readers about the mail which the editors have received in connection with the discussion of this current question. We were unable to include many of the letters on this topic in the overview. Many of them raised important questions from the life of a certain village, city, or rayon. Many present specific proposals. The editors will try to use them in their subsequent work, and also to use the critical comments as a guide in seeing that appropriate measures are taken at the local sites. We thank all our non-staff correspondents and readers for their attention to our newspaper. We would like to conclude this overview with an excerpt from the letter of A. V. Bugayev (Semenovka village, Pologovskiy rayon, Zaporozhskaya Oblast), who suggests:

"We must give an ideological, party, and principle rebuff to the 'rukhovtsy' and expose to the workers the anti-party, anti-constitutional and anti-perestroyka essence of their program. And we must do so 'quickly, quickly!'"

Measures on Behalf of Stalinist Repression Victims Described

UkSSR SupSov Commission Created
18000714 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
17 Feb 89 p 3

[Unattributed Report: "The Commission Has Begun Work"]

[Text] Work is being done in the republic to restore justice toward the victims of repressions which took place in the 1930's-1940's and in the early 1950's.

A commission to help guarantee the rights and interests of those rehabilitated and create memorials has been formed under the UkSSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies of the Supreme Soviet and representatives of the ministries, state committees and departments of the republic and of the public make up the commission. UkSSR Supreme Soviet deputy A. P. Lyashko was ratified as chairman of the commission.

The first meeting of the commission has been held. The session took note of the pressing nature of work to insure social justice for the victims of repressions, the need to give comprehensive help to rehabilitated persons in defending their rights and interests, compensation for material damages, and solving problems of pension, housing, and other support. The commission must do serious work on creating memorials to the victims of repressions. One of the main tasks of the commission and soviet organs in the local areas is to clean up the burial places of those illegally repressed and keep them in proper order.

Other questions of the commission's activity were also discussed. Measures have been approved which are to be carried out in the near future. At the next meeting the report of the UkSSR Procurator's Office and the UkSSR Supreme Court on progress in work to reexamine the cases of illegally repressed people and insure the rights and interests of rehabilitated persons and information on measures being taken on the petitions of citizens are to be heard, and in addition questions of the state of preparations by the UkSSR Ministry of Culture and the Kiev Gorispolkom for the competition to draw a plan for a memorial to the victims of repressions in the city of Kiev are to be examined.

N. G. Khomenko, secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in the meeting of the commission.

The commission will work at the following address: Kiev, ul. Engelsa, 28-a.

Chief of BSSR SupSov Commission Interviewed
18000714 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian
18 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with A.A. Zdanovich, BSSR Supreme Soviet deputy and chairman of commission working group, by V. Khachirashvili]

[Text] In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Additional Measures to Restore Justice Toward the Victims of Repressions Which Took Place in the 1930's-1940's and Early 1950's," a commission is being formed under the BSSR Supreme Soviet which will help insure the rights and interests of rehabilitated citizens as well as create memorials to the victims of repressions and maintain their burial places properly. People's deputies and representatives of public organizations will be part of it. Similar formations are being created on the rayon, city, and oblast levels.

A meeting of the working group was held. The main directions of the commission's activities were examined and the group of questions which it must resolve were determined at this meeting. The chairman of the working group Deputy of the BSSR Supreme Soviet A. A. Zdanovich tells BELTA correspondent [V. Khachirashvili] about this.

[Zdanovich] First of all, one must not confuse the standing commissions of the BSSR Supreme Soviet with the new one being created. It will continue to exist until the last rehabilitation case is heard and the last inquiry or suit dealing with the repressions of Stalinist times is satisfied.

Work on rehabilitation and restoring the legal rights of repressed citizens has been underway since the 1950's. There were dips in activism and periods of significant revival. But in one way or another it has been steadily going forward. Now the government and the public have taken up the matter in earnest. This activation became possible because of glasnost and the democratization of the life of our society. And there is no doubt that this work will be completed in the foreseeable future.

[Khachirashvili] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, aren't there too many commissions being created to investigate the unlawful actions of the period of the cult of personality? As far as we know, they already operate under the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the Belorussian Trade Union Council. Won't they duplicate each other?

[Zdanovich] First, the work is so vast and enormous that the more there are, the faster we will put an end to this matter. Additional efforts are very necessary. When the Central Committee Buro commission on additional study of materials involving repressions began, it immediately encountered a mass of new problems. Attendant problems arose. What will happen, for example, with the property of repressed persons or, let us say, with a length of service that is interrupted by arrest and imprisonment. In addition, those who suffered illegally can be divided into several categories: workers and kolkhoz members, intelligentsia, and workers in party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs. There would be enough work here for some one organ for many years. Therefore, the initiative was supported to create public councils to aid commissions of party committees and soviets of people's deputies at the Belorussian Komsomol, the Belorussian Organization of Veterans of War and Labor council, and the republic's women's council, and in labor collectives. As you see, the work is becoming massive in character and the time is coming to set up an orderly system to give aid to rehabilitated persons which encompasses all social groups, and, moreover, at various levels. In short, while the court and the procurator's office are working on rehabilitation and the commission under the Central Committee Buro works to restore communists who suffered as the result of politically-motivated charges to the party, our commission is to give aid in supporting the rights and interests of citizens who have already been rehabilitated. I emphasize—only rehabilitated citizens. This is the plan, for example: the procurator appeals, the court orders the case dismissed for lack of the elements of a crime, the person receives the document saying he is rehabilitated and on this basis may request that he be compensated for the losses he suffered. If his demands are not satisfied locally,

he may appeal for aid to the corresponding commission (rayon, city, oblast, or the BSSR Supreme Soviet). But until the rehabilitation is a fact, it is too early for him to appeal to us.

[Khachirashvili] That applies to the court cases. For many people were convicted by so-called "troika's" and by special meetings of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. How will their cases be reexamined?

[Zdanovich] This category of repressed people has been rehabilitated by the appropriate Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which was published. It says: "... set aside extrajudicial decisions." On this basis an illegally convicted person may request that his social-legal questions be resolved.

[Khachirashvili] Let us assume that he wants to have the property or other valuables which were confiscated from him when he was arrested returned. Will the commission have the right to work on evaluating them and converting their value to today's equivalent?

[Zdanovich] During confiscation an inventory was usually made which was attached to the file. It indicated what particular property was described and what was later confiscated. Everything confiscated was turned over for sale by financial organs, and they are supposed to decide questions involving returning the value of property and appraising it. It is substantially more complicated if the confiscation documents were not kept. I think that in that case it would be best for the procurator office organs to conduct additional verification.

Undoubtedly, questions will arise involving housing or length of work service. And even consultations—where to go, whom to turn to on a particular question—are also of no small importance. A person must not be allowed to roam through the administrative corridors. The commission is supposed to help people on all these questions.

[Khachirashvili] At the republic level commission the people chosen are experienced, knowledgeable about the law, and thoroughly trained. Can this be said about the oblast, city, and especially, the rayon level formations? For you and they will have to decide cases equivalently. Where is the guarantee that they will be reexamined there on a sufficiently qualified basis and you will not have to clean up others' imperfections?

[Zdanovich] The guarantee is in the selection of candidates. This must be approached very carefully. People must be proposed who are knowledgeable, thoughtful, and, the main thing, not indifferent. I think there will be no difficulties with the selection of cadres on the oblast level. There employees of courts, the procurator's office, and other organs are sufficiently qualified. If problems do arise, they will be on the lower level, where the choice

is limited. Perhaps they will have to receive help. But we do not intend to step in for anyone. Monitoring functions are something else. The statute on the commission will envision that.

[Khachirashvili] Do you intend to cooperate with citizens' volunteer organizations and youth associations in your work?

[Zdanovich] Well, why not? For example, on questions of perpetuating the memory of the victims of repressions and establishing the truth. For work is underway to study the causes and effects of the mass repressions of the 1930's-1940's and early 1950's in Belorussia in detail. Moreover, a special publication is to be prepared and published. And although the Academy of Sciences and the Belorusskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya Publishing House are working on this specifically, there is enough work here for everyone. We can be in close contact where proper upkeep or construction of burial places must be provided, a memorial sign or plaque must be erected, or the fulfillment of a decree which was adopted earlier must be monitored. For example, on Kuropaty. It is our common cause. And we should be equally interested.

[Khachirashvili] How long will the work of your commission go on?

[Zdanovich] It is difficult to answer unequivocally. In many respects everything will depend on our activism, and that of public organizations and volunteer helpers. I can only say that if, for example, judicial organs will need 3 or 4 years, we will need 1 or 2 more than that. For we will be operating post-factum, as they say.

It is clear that everyone has one wish—to deal with the repressions of the Stalinist period quickly. But it must be done in a just way, for in this work haste and rashness are simply inappropriate. The work ahead of us is complex. And in it we rely on the help of all those involved people who are not indifferent. Let us work together.

Funds Being Collected for Kuropaty Memorial
18000714 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[BELTA Report: "In Memory of the Victims of Repressions"]

[Text] Volunteer donations sent to the Zhilsotsbank new account No 702903 will go to set up a memorial to the victims of mass repressions in Kuropaty. It was opened under the Minsk City Branch of the Soviet Culture Fund. Preparations to hold a competition for the best plan for the memorial and for development of the forest area have already begun.

"As everyone knows, the state has taken on the financing of construction of the memorial," says Vasiliy Sharangovich, the chairman of the Minsk City Branch of the Soviet Culture Fund, "but many people and collectives of enterprises, organizations, and institutions want to make their own personal contribution to perpetuating the memory of innocent victims. All this is a reflection of greater public self-consciousness and a guarantee of the assertion that the suffocating times of the cult of personality will not return to our land.

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